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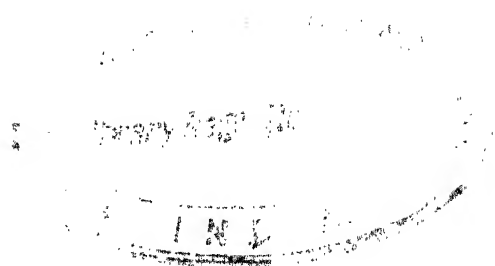
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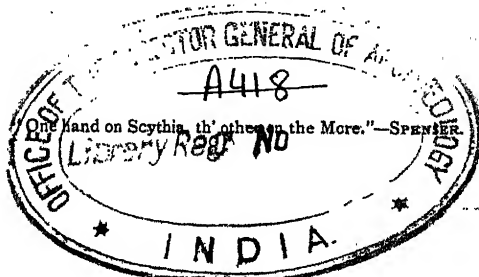


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THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1902.

THE FAMINE COMMISSIONS.

BY R. E. FORREST.

IN 1875 Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India, said, with reference "to the necessity of encouraging projects of irrigation and communication" there, in India: "As our experience has increased our estimate of the relative values of these two means of meeting distress and promoting prosperity has very much changed. Some eight or ten years ago the belief in irrigation was universal and boundless. We had in this country conceived the idea that it was almost impossible to undertake a scheme of irrigation that should not certainly succeed, and that any expenditure of money in works of this kind was justifiable and wise. I regret to say that this was my belief seven or eight years ago, but I saw that belief was very much shaken in the minds of Lord Northbrook and others who surrounded him. My study of the subject has led me to the same conviction." He went on to say that the only irrigation projects carried out that had proved financially successful were those which "had for their basis the former works of their native rulers," and had therefore the advantage of "the former expenditure of native rulers," but that "in those cases where we began the projects of irrigation for ourselves we had not yet reached, I believe, in any one instance, the desired result of a clean balance-sheet." Again, "another difficulty of a serious character: in irrigating a district you are apt to turn it into a marsh, and however good a marsh may be

for rice, it is not equally good for human beings." The sarcastic tone of that utterance grates on the ears of one to whom the evils complained of have been matters of grave and earnest solicitude. Then Sir Arthur Cotton rushed into the fray: "Millions of acres irrigated, drained, and secured from river-floods; the crops in them secured and tripled; thousands of steamboats carrying at a nominal cost; swarming with innumerable boats carrying a traffic almost wholly created by the canals; tens of millions of people secured from famine, raised from poverty and actual want to abundance and content, delivered from living in a sea of mud in the monsoon, and from drinking filthy water in the dry; exports of raw produce for England's manufactories increased tenfold, and imports of her goods increased twentyfold; the character of the Government in the eyes of the natives and of foreigners raised highly; millions poured into the Treasury"—and so his sentences roll on like the rush of the water over one of his own weirs in flood-time. Again, the railway from Calcutta to Lahore had cost forty millions, while a canal—but his own words must be quoted—"while the costs and results of a steamboat canal may be thus estimated: 1,300 miles at £3,000, four millions." Then on this canal were to be boats "that will keep up twenty-five miles an hour, a higher speed than that at which most of the mail-trains in India run. So that for the mails and the few passengers and goods that require speed the canal will provide just as well as the railways."

Here, on both sides, was that most dangerous thing in India, a general proposition—the universal instead of the local. Here was wholesale condemnation and wholesale advocacy. Here was universal assertion and denial—no canal and all canal; and this in a land of such varied natural features, varied soil and climate, as India. Unfortunately, Sir Arthur Cotton applied, or allowed to be applied, estimating such as the above to actual works. In connection with some great projects of his own there was an extravagant underestimating of cost, overestimating

of returns, an extravagant expenditure. With regard to one of these—the Madras Canal, now known as the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal—the Hon. Alfred Deakin, Minister of Water-Supply, Victoria, Australia, wrote in his book, “Irrigated India”: “A scheme that was to have cost £550,000” had “absorbed £1,240,000, and, instead of yielding 20 per cent., was being carried on at an absolute loss.” He wrote in 1881. In the report of the Famine Commission of 1898 it is stated that the net revenue of this costly work averaged little more than Rs. 1,000 a year. In the year of drought—and therefore of great demand for water—1899-1900, while the Ganges Canal paid 11 per cent., the canals in Sind 7 per cent., and the Godaveri works, on which Sir Arthur Cotton’s reputation was founded, yielded 12 per cent., this Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal gave only 0·29 per cent. “The extraordinary oversight,” says Mr. Deakin, “which led to the unhesitating construction of these great works without regard to the character of the soil to be watered, of the people who own it, or of the results to be obtained by its execution, is a remarkable incident in the history of Indian irrigation.”

With regard to Lord Salisbury’s other objection, the production of malarious swamps, Sir Arthur Cotton said, very justly, that it was avoidable and remediable. But he brushed the matter aside too lightly. His own experience was of deltas, where the rainfall was heavy, the climate humid, water always superabundant, the variations of temperature, diurnal and annual, slight: the very opposite of the high, dry region at the foot of the Himalayas, with half the rainfall, with great heat in the summer and sharp cold in the winter, great diurnal and seasonal variations of temperature.

The trouble and expense entailed on the Government of India by the unfortunate Madras and Orissa Canals set its mind strongly against such works, and produced the revulsion of feeling spoken of by Lord Salisbury.



But time rolled on for Lord Salisbury and Sir Arthur Cotton, and Railways and Irrigation Works.

The Famine Commission of 1898 wrote: "To put the food-supply of the country in circulation was necessarily the first object of a wise famine policy, to protect and develop the supply itself should be its second object; and this is the function of agricultural development generally, and of irrigation in particular." But then came the unprecedented prolongation of the drought, and the Famine Commission of 1901 expressed "its cordial approval of a new departure in famine policy which would place irrigation works in the place protective railways have hitherto occupied in the famine insurance programme." And it says: "For storage tanks, reservoirs, and, above all, irrigation wells, the scope and the necessity are very great."

The pendulum has swung full the other way. In 1875 it was all communications, and now it is all irrigation. Why should this be? Why should one be exclusive of the other? They are not antagonistic, but co-operative. Both are needed. For lines of railway, too, there is still ample scope and great necessity. The number of square miles to every mile of railway varies in different provinces from 40 to 107. Feeder lines are greatly needed. Tracts still lie isolated. My own years of service were passed on works of irrigation. My prepossessions would be in favour of them. But this is no matter for furious partizanship, furious writing, furious action. And nothing can be more detrimental to the cause of irrigation itself than the construction of works that are not used, therefore not wanted, in ordinary years, and which fail in years of drought. There is nothing so harmful as the policy of lavish and stint; the former, of which there is the danger now, as much as the latter. There are three stages in the rainfall in India: the cataclysmic downpour, and the utter cessation, and the period of greater or less fall between. Irrigation works have their three corresponding periods: the middle one of benefit, greater or less; the extreme of least useful-

ness, most danger of harm; the extreme of supreme usefulness, no danger of harm. The latter is the year of drought, of the clear sky and the continuous blazing sunshine, when the desiccated atmosphere speaks not of the damp, malarious exhalation, when the hard, baked land has no memory of the swamp and the morass. Then the herbage withers on the plains, and the fields lie untilled and produceless, and the husbandman stands despairing, and water means the saving from destruction. I have seen that period extend for six whole summer months, and, while arid desolation extended in other parts, have ridden along my own canal channels through strips of rich abundance, more rich than ever, through heavy crops of millet and maize and indigo and sugar-cane and rice, and beheld the exulting—in place of the despairing—face of the husbandman, best recompense for one's small toils; and I am not the one to write about irrigation except in its own best interest. But a State policy should not follow the vicissitudes of the seasons. We have had experience enough now to give it a stable foundation—to give it a beneficial continuity; State funds should flow neither in dribble nor flood, neither insufficiently nor wastefully. Forty years back I took my share of work in the first "poor-houses" that were ever established, in the famine of 1860-61. I have been in more anxious contact with several famines since; I know what the feelings aroused by contact with such dread visitations are. But the State funds have to be safeguarded; the funds available put to best use. The excitement aroused by the horrors and losses of a famine is an honourable one. But this is not a matter for mere feeling, but for grave and earnest deliberation, for careful judgment, careful action.

There is a difference of three years only between the pronouncements of the two Famine Commissions quoted above, and yet what a difference in tone! Local officers are advocating the making of reservoirs in the very regions in which they have recently failed, calling for irrigation

works for land similar to that of which in other places it has been declared, and proved, that it "needs irrigation very rarely, is difficult to work when wetted, and bears excellent crops with the average local rainfall." If the provision of funds is made easy, idle projects will be numerous as are the applicants for easy Poor-Law relief. The exaction of work, of results, is the only safeguard. Do not let precious funds be wasted on religious ceremonies and marriage-feasts under the guise of the digging of wells. We read in one famine report of men digging wells where no water was to be found, which sounds suspiciously like the wiping off of advances by the digging of a hole. Men who have confronted a famine may well be staggered and blinded by it. That appalling state of things, that helplessness, that hopelessness, that misery and suffering, that loss, that strain! Due to what? The want of water. Obvious the remedy: supply the water. True, if we could supply it in the same widespread, copious way, from the clouds. But we can only mitigate the evil, not prevent it. The monsoons must come for India to live. The clouds feed the reservoirs and the rivers and the wells; they cause the herbage to grow. I had charge of the Ganges Canal for the latter half of the period of stress in the famine of 1878 (succeeding the distinguished Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff), when the canal carried its full calculated supply and over, and did splendid work, and I remember being struck by the incomparably greater effect produced by the at-last-arrived rainfall in September (from February to September not a drop of rain!)—one of 2 inches, I think. In the famine of 1898-1900, the canals from the Ganges and Jumna, more developed, did still more splendid work; but I note in the Irrigation Revenue Report how in the *Rabi* season, when they irrigated over one and three-quarters million acres, some showers in January, "neither heavy or general," are stated to have "saved the situation." Store the rain-water for use in the year of drought; but what if it is then the reservoir lies dry? What if in

ordinary years the cultivator does not need the water, if it adds not to his resources and he will not take it, and in the year of drought it fails? Or what if, making no return in ordinary years, it does irrigate a certain small area in the year of drought? Is there to be no question of cost? Now that railways link various parts of the land together, would it not be better to spend the money elsewhere, where it would be infinitely more beneficial? Would it not be better spent in safeguarding the spot in some other way? With regard to the Deccan, for instance, the Famine Commission of 1898 stated that "railways were more likely to be immediately profitable" by "opening the markets and creating a demand for produce, and that these should have first attention." Is not the test of returns the best and surest test of the value and need of an irrigation work? Where "storage tanks" have been tried and failed, why add to the number? There is now the danger of the launching of projects for which the plans are ready—plans prepared long ago on old principles, without the full and complete study of topographical features and agricultural conditions deemed necessary now; of the objections to them, long held valid, being suddenly overruled. Each official has his little day: something undertaken relieves the feelings, gets the matter off one's hands, stops the mouth of cavillers; the failures will come hereafter. But let us have no more construction of great works "without regard to the character of the soil" or "of the people who own it." Fullest vigour of action, fullest supply of funds, but after fullest collection of information, fullest deliberation, fullest elaboration of design. These remarks may be put down to presumption; they are due to remembrance, to zeal—zeal for the prosperity of the land on which my own feet longest trod, of the people among whom I passed the most years of my life, of the great system of works on which my days of labour were spent. They may be deemed needless with Lord Curzon as ruler of the land. I yield to none

in admiration. He is a great man ; but great men have their temptations. And there are other powers and influences: English public opinion, Members of Parliament, political parties. The Madras Canal project was entered upon "in face of the doubts of Lord Canning and many officials of high standing" owing to such an outside influence. In a review of the report of the last Famine Commission in a leading English periodical is the following sentence ; "Irrigation will also stand comparison with railroads as a means of land transport." Sir Arthur Cotton put the case thus : "A steamboat canal can be made cheaper than a railway: it can carry cheaper ; it can carry all that is wanted, and that a railway cannot. It can in most cases be combined with irrigation." Irrigation called a means of land transport ! It means watering, is watering, and is nothing more. Again Sir Arthur Cotton's vigorous and well-expressed statements without shadow of proof ; the old, dangerous general statements, without reference to locality, survey, plan, or estimate. The only general statement in the matter is that the theoretical requirements of navigation and irrigation canals are antagonistic: the navigation channels should be still, the irrigation run as fast as considerations connected with erosion, etc., will permit, for so they discharge more at a less cost, work more briskly and effectively. It is all a matter of localities. In a deltaic region, with its broad, slow channels, the two blend together naturally ; in an upland region with a sharp slope the antagonism shows itself. The thing has been put to proof. On the Orissa Canal the returns from navigation exceed those for irrigation ; on the Ganges Canal form but a minute fraction of it. Navigation was imposed on the Ganges Canal by a fiat of Lord Ellenborough's, and has proved the source of much trouble and loss.

No one would wish to diminish the credit of Sir Arthur Cotton—least of all myself, who owe to him the most gratifying recollection of my life. His pioneer work in

the deltas of Madras was splendid, not only because of its local results, but because it gave confidence in the dealing with great rivers in a similar way elsewhere. But those who would place him in the position of supreme authority on irrigation matters in Hindostan should refer to the more balanced judgment of Mr. Deakin, as expressed in "Irrigated India."

Then, in another English periodical it is stated that Lord Curzon "has forestalled the famine of the future by a new scheme of irrigation on a gigantic scale." When, amid the sobering influences of the famine and a dark financial outlook, Lord Curzon appointed the Irrigation Commission, last year, he wrote: "What I want to insure is that in each province the sources of supply best suited to it, whether they be canals or tanks or wells, shall be scientifically considered and mathematically laid down, so that we may be presented with a continuous programme that we may pursue in ordinary years as an insurance against the bad years when they come." These are the words of wisdom. Herein is the concentration of what I advocate: the result of one's own life-work and life-thought. But now we are in 1902, and there has been an Indian Famine Commission debate in the House of Commons, and a large surplus has suddenly appeared in the Indian Budget of the coming year. In his speech in connection with that Budget Lord Curzon said, with reference to the coming report of the Irrigation Committee: "I warn the country that its report will mean an expenditure of money—perhaps of much money—in the future, and I invite those gentlemen who are so keen upon an extensive reduction of taxation, and who are probably also amongst the foremost champions of a generous policy of irrigation, to pause a little and think whether there is perfect consistency in their attitude." Here is again the outside influence.

You, ladies and gentlemen—speakers inside and outside the House of Commons, the only lovers of India, the only friends of its people, who live on 2d., 1½d., or even 1d. a day,

according to rate of exchange—you cry aloud for irrigation, and, by my halidome! you shall have it; but you cannot have that and reduction of taxation too. Lord Curzon spoke also of the “general sympathy with which the Government of India regard the policy of unhesitating, even if it be sometimes experimental, advance in this direction,” that of “future extensions of irrigation in this country.” Here we have another note. It is to be hoped that the experiments will be made on a small scale. And when new experiments are about to be made, it seems as well to consider old ones; some of them were very costly. We may as well get some advantage out of the expenditure. I would help in this direction. Let us look at the latest results, in these recent famine years, of one system of works, and see what lesson it teaches us. I would take, of course, the system with which I was connected myself, a very large and varied one, one of the greatest in India—that of the North-West Provinces. Besides the general question, I would propose to go into some matters of detail of working, past or future, which seem to me to bear on the “agricultural development” looked to as one of the antidotes of famine. I would also say some words in connection with the history of the works. The names of these works, together with certain results of their working in the year 1899-1900, are given in the following table :

Name.	Area Irrigated.	Return per Cent.	Duty, Acres per Cubic Foot per Second.	
			Autumn.	Spring.
Eastern Jumna Canal	Acres. 321,468	Rupees. 27.08	112	227
Ganges Canal ...	1,261,601	10.94	105	170
Lower Ganges Canal	746,096	4.14	95	198
Agra Canal ...	264,427	5.52	114	181
Dhoon Canals ...	21,414	6.92	—	—
Rohilkhand Canals ...	128,681	0.50	—	—
Bijnor Canal ...	22,372	12.46	—	—
Betwa Canal...	36,622	0.20	28	185
Jhansi Lakes ...	1,658	1.09	16	59
Hamirpur Lakes ...	2,175		14	74

These works are classified by the Government as Productive—those from which a direct return is expected ; or as Protective—those from which it is not. The Betwa Canal alone comes under the latter head ; all the others under the former.

The Eastern Jumna Canal and the Western Jumna Canal are taken off from the river Jumna at the point where it emerges from its parent mountains. Though the Western Jumna Canal does not appear in this list, having passed to the Punjab with the tract in which it runs, it is essentially a member of the great group of canals derived from the rivers Ganges and Jumna. It is the oldest of them. Its history goes back to the reign of Feroze Toghlak, A.D. 1351, and is connected with the great names of Akbar and Shah Jehan. A favourite statement of the writers with whom the sign of magnanimity was the disparagement of their own countrymen and all their works used to be that we had neglected to keep the ancient reservoirs in repair, and had learnt what we knew of irrigation works from our Mohammedan predecessors. With regard to the former, it was not understood that the aptness of such works to be found in a state of disrepair was due to the fact that so often they represent the most dangerous and ineffective form of irrigation work. As to the latter, these great canals could neither have been made or maintained in the past. The Mohammedans left behind them magnificent monuments ; but they are of other sort. They could not have made the Ganges Canal, any more than they could have made the great bridges across the Jumna and Ganges : it is no imputation on them ; they had not the appliances. As a simple matter of fact, when they attempted to deal with the Jumna as they had dealt with other rivers elsewhere, when they tried to run out a canal on either side of it to water lands in which the monarchs were especially interested, and carry water down to the imperial city of Delhi, they failed disastrously on the Eastern side ; and though they succeeded better on the Western side, got the water



down to Delhi, and kept the canal working, with more or less of interruption, for many centuries, yet, from its mode of construction, on it arose the evils of water-logging and injury to health, which raised the strong feeling against all irrigation works here. The same evils attached to the Eastern Jumna Canal when we reconstructed it, on old principles, ourselves. Before passing on from the Western Jumna Canal, I have to state that within the last few years it has been realigned and reconstructed in a manner only possible to ourselves in these later times, with our more advanced scientific knowledge, our greater command of money, of mechanical appliances—instruments for obtaining the levels of the land, for instance—and now it stands forth free of blame and doing splendid work.

The above evils displayed themselves on both the Jumna canals. Then came the year of Black Death. The famine of 1837-38, so much talked of afterwards in my own household, fell with unchecked destructiveness on the tract between the Jumna and Ganges. That tract became a field of the dead. They lay by the roadside, as I have heard from those who saw. The Government stood powerless. The people died helpless. The bonds of social and domestic life were loosened. The sanctities of life disappeared—disappeared with a people to whom they are very dear. The mad craving of hunger was satisfied in horrible ways. Men became beasts. The land was ravaged. The value of those two canals, with all their imperfections, to the tracts through which they passed stood out to the full. The Ganges Canal was projected.

Shortly after the reopening of the Eastern Jumna Canal, the charge of it fell into the hands of Cantley; he is Cantley as Brindley is Brindley, or Telford Telford. It was a case of the man and the work as distinctly as when Shakespeare sat down to write plays. He was a man of science, of close observation, of great mental capacity, force of character; in engineering bold, sound, inventive, of great constructive ability. To him came a unique opportunity.

A canal grew up under his hands. He had to turn the wild torrent which the reopened channel soon became, as it had done, disastrously, before, into a controlled and regulated canal. Distinguished in the field of natural science, he studied the physical features of that sub-Himalayan region—its meteorology, the run of the rivers—closely for years. He brought this special capacity and experience to bear on the designing and constructing of the Ganges Canal now placed in his hands. He produced a great work. It was the work of one mind and one hand. He made the surveys, took the levels, drew the designs for it, superintended the construction, prepared the materials, controlled the expenditure. On him lay the responsibility of the whole vast work. It is the greatest work of its kind in the world. It stands without exemplar as without parallel. "Its reputation extends all the world over," says Mr. Deakin. It does not seem to extend to England.

In the preface to the first published account of the proposed canal there was one thing that Sir Proby Cantley said he wished to be remembered: it was that at that moment, before the construction of the canal, the lands it was to traverse were suffering most severely from an outbreak of malarious fever. I wish to call notice to this.

The injuries on the old canals had arisen from high embankments and interference with drainage—the new canal was to be kept in soil, and interference with drainage avoided or remedied—they had arisen also, greatly, from the irrigating channels being made by the cultivators themselves, and carried out from cuts in the banks of the main canal. In the new canal no such cuts were to be allowed; the irrigation was to be from minor parallel channels supplied at intervals by "feeder" channels run out from heads placed securely in connection with the masonry of the bridges. But this "gridiron" system was too mechanical, too unconnected with the natural features, had evils of its own.

The Ganges Canal is taken off from the river Ganges

at Hurdwar, the sacred city that marks the spot where the sacred stream debouches from the Himalayas on to the plains of Northern India.

Soon after the opening of the canal, which was in 1854, difficulties arose, as might have been expected from the magnitude and novelty of the work, from the great volume of the water, its passing over various soils, its descending, when passing from upper to lower levels, over great artificial cataracts. Owing to these and other causes—the want of a good distribution system, the newness of such irrigation to the cultivators—the canal did not, as it could not, produce any great effect in the famine of 1860-61. There was disappointment, even consternation. The opinion of other engineers was called in, one of them Sir Arthur Cotton. The trouble was in the upper portion of the canal, where the volume was greatest, the descents, or “falls,” on the largest and most dangerous scale. Sir Arthur Cotton declared the danger could have been avoided by throwing a weir across the Ganges lower down, and bringing the canal out on the land below that upper length. But, owing to the height of the land along the edge of the valley of the Ganges, this scheme itself presented the difficulty of an enormous depth of digging over a very long length. Apart from a comparison of engineering merits, which lay, I think, in favour of Cantley's scheme, the fact that this began the irrigation of the tract it was meant to water and protect against famine at the highest point, whilst the other (Cotton's) would have excluded a very large area, was overwhelmingly in its favour. The other officer called in to report on the canal declared, on theoretic principles, that the only remedy lay in the somewhat obvious plan of a reduction of the volume. As this would diminish the amount needed for the two lower branches into which the canal divided, it was proposed that Sir Arthur Cotton's scheme should be carried out to make up the deficiency as a “supplementary channel.” But there was the difficulty of the deep digging, nor were the local canal engineers

much in favour of the weir. The matter remained in abeyance. In the meanwhile the officers in charge of the canal had begun to overcome the difficulties ; the opening of the railways had given them command of a better material—stone—and the canal went on carrying the supply it was declared it could not carry. “The errors in construction had been found to be less serious than was supposed in 1863-64” (Deakin). The canal did well in the famine of 1868-69, more especially in those sections where great care had been bestowed on the minor distribution channels, a point dwelt on because young officers are apt to deem such work petty or needless. This drought took place in the *kharif*, or autumn season, when there was plenty of water in the river Ganges, while the lands above were perishing for lack of it. On this ground the scheme of the supplementary channel was taken up again. The officer in charge of the Ganges Canal was directed to choose a site for the weir, and from this a channel was to run to the bifurcation of the two lower branches. The detailed working out of the scheme was placed in my hands. From what has been adverted to before, I was aware that the conviction was against the practicability, as the need, of the scheme, and that all that was expected from its detailed working out was its decent burial. On the other hand, there were large tracts with which I was personally acquainted which stood greatly in need of irrigation, had suffered grievously in times of famine, and lay outside the scope of the Ganges Canal. It seemed to me, therefore, that, while carrying out my official instructions, I might try and find a spot from which to take out a canal which, free from the condemnatory deep digging, might supply the lower branches, if not at the obviously best point, the bifurcation, elsewhere, and also irrigate the tracts spoken of above, and so make safe against famine the whole of the Doâb, the great tract between Ganges and Jumna.

In this I was fortunate enough to be able to succeed, and to present a scheme on the lines of which the other

great canal from the Ganges has been carried out. It is agreeable to me to look at the map and think of the lines I traced out on it as living, active, working channels. The officer into whose hands the after-conduct of the work fell said, very handsomely, in his letter to the Government: "Allusion is made in my report to the valuable services rendered by Mr. Forrest, to whom alone the credit of having pointed out the scheme of all others which promises to be most successful is due." As shown by me above, the generating idea came from Sir Arthur Cotton.

In the scheme of this canal the laying out and construction of the distribution channels was made an integral part of the work.

The Lower Ganges Canal is taken off from the river 130 miles below the head of the Ganges Canal.

The Agra Canal, also fed by a weir, is taken off from the Jumna, on the western side, a little below Delhi, and so a little below the point where the other two canals from the Jumna, the Eastern and Western, terminate.

The next three names on the list are those of canals which lie immediately on the slope of the Himalaya, and derive their supply from streams not snow-fed; they are small but interesting works, run in pleasant regions, and it affords one a delightful glimpse back into the past to recall the connection one had with them all. The works down to this point may be termed the Himalayan Series.

The remaining works lie in a separate and distinct region, south of the Jumna, that of Bundelkhand. They may be called the Bundelkhand Series. They consist of a canal and some lakes. The rivers here are of a different class from the Himalayan ones. They rise in heavy flood in the rains, but run very low at other seasons. The dam at the head of the Betwa Canal is meant not only to guide and direct the water, but to impound it. It is a very fine structure of cut stone, 60 feet high. At full supply the Jhansi Lakes cover an area of 2,593 acres, and contain 743 millions of cubic feet; the Hamirpur lakes, 3,593 acres and

923 millions of cubic feet; the capacity will be better appreciated, perhaps, by writing the numbers in full: 743,000,000 cubic feet and 923,000,000 cubic feet.

Before dealing with the table its information has to be made complete by the statement that the low return of the Rohilkhand Canals was due to exceptional circumstances.

What does the table teach? Broadly, plainly, unmistakably, the great profitableness of irrigation works in a suitable region, their unprofitableness in an unsuitable. Between one set of works and the other, what a startling difference! When we pass from the Himalayan to the Bundelkhand series, in place of large areas irrigated, a high irrigating duty, large returns, we have the very reverse. The Betwa is the only canal on which there is not a satisfactory, a large, or very large profit, but a loss. It was made on other considerations than those of profit. It was laid down in one of the Famine Commission reports that the people of Bundelkhand had a right to claim the construction of such works, because they paid for the construction of similar works elsewhere. Surely a contention like this cannot hold good? Is this a principle of universal application? The people of Oudh pay for the construction of State irrigation works elsewhere, but they resist their introduction into their own province. There can be no exact adjustment of claims. Separate tracts share in the general benefits. Some railways and canals must come first. If there is a local claim for works, or for measures protective against famine, surely the question is, Of what kind shall they be? Here, in Bundelkhand, the unhesitating answer, some years ago, would have been, "By reduction of land-tax." In considering this question in connection with the Betwa Canal, some further particulars with regard to that canal have to be given. In this year of utmost demand it irrigated 36,600 acres, the whole cultivated area of the district in which it lies, mainly, being 864,000 acres; it cost Rs. 4,374,000; the cost of each acre irrigated was Rs. 119; the value of the crops grown

on each acre was reckoned at Rs. 19; the similar figures for the Ganges Canal were Rs. 23 and Rs. 37: for the Eastern Jumna Canal Rs. 12, and Rs. 42.5. Taking in interest charges, the loss on it was Rs. 174,000. Surely the people might say that it was hard to have to pay Rs. 119 an acre for the irrigation of the lands of a handful of people—lands on which the value of the crop raised was so small; to have had given them a work that inflicted on them a loss of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs of rupees every year. They might say that they would rather have had works of large and general, not of small and local, benefit—works of communication, roads, bridges across the streams which divide their land into narrow, isolated sections. Was it worth while spending  $43\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs of rupees on this amount of famine protection? It is a large sum. Let the map given with the Irrigation Revenue Report of the North-West Provinces for 1899-1900 be looked at, and it will be seen that, now that the railway from Cawnpore runs into the land and the Jumna has been bridged, the real famine protective irrigation works for Bundelkhand are the channels of the two Ganges Canals which now lie so thick along the north bank of the river—works so Productive also.

The lakes are classed as productive, and are seen to be so to a small extent. If the reader will compare the figures showing the contents of the lakes with the areas irrigated by them, compare the figures showing the duty on them with that on the Ganges Canal, he will, perhaps, be surprised.

The first work I had to design was a reservoir. I entered on the work with enthusiasm. I had seen many fine works of the kind. There is something very delightful in the sight of a lake in the midst of a hot and thirsty land; there is in it a mingling of beauty and beneficence. With surprise, as with sorrow, I had to submit the worked-out scheme, with all its fine works, with an adverse opinion. That was due to the small irrigating power of still water, infrequently renewed. I had got together all the information available

then, and been surprised to find how small the amount of irrigation was from reservoirs of name and fame even. Here was the explanation. A great sheet of water, 6 miles long and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile wide, 45 feet deep at the dam, would keep only an insignificant water-course running during the year. Fifteen feet in depth of the wide top surface would have to be taken off for evaporation and absorption. The large-looking amount, 31,536,000 cubic feet, means only 1 cubic foot per second for the year. There would be something grand in the upholding of that 45 feet in depth of water; in the massive embankment, the solid yet graceful dam, the long waste weir: works very attractive to the engineer. But in such works water is dealt with in its most dangerous form, as shown by the many disastrous accidents in America and England, in the great after expenditure often incurred in India in making such works secure. There is the great direct thrust, the insidious creep through. These difficulties can be met; but if the works so become very costly, the return on them will be small. Then these works have the great defect that, being dependent on the rainfall, they are apt to fail when most needed. The 743 million cubic feet of the Jhansi Lakes would represent a very small distribution channel of the Ganges Canal. It will be observed that the lakes cover larger areas than they irrigate.

As this matter of reservoirs is an important one in connection with the present call for them, I would bring forward some cases from elsewhere. The following are extracts from Mr. Deakin's book with regard to a reservoir in the Deccan: "The nature of the work and its magnitude are both apparent to the observer on the dam, whose mass, rising to a crest of 12 feet wide, curves across the great valley, its two outlet towers showing a depth of from 42 to 38 feet of stored water. The loss in the reservoir itself from absorption and evaporation amounted in the year to more than 25 per cent. of the 4,207,000 cubic feet available." Then, as the revenue from all sources, including the



supply to a small town, was £1,850, the working expenses £1,323, the capital cost £133,000, "the net return goes but a little way towards the payment of interest." In the recent years of drought many reservoirs in the Deccan ran quite dry. The tank works in Ajmere-Marwara, in Northern India, failed altogether—let it be allowed that the drought was exceptionally prolonged—and with regard to some large ones made there in the famine of 1891-92, it is stated, in the official report, that "from these little or no irrigation has ever been possible." In Bundelkhand are splendid ancient reservoirs, monumental works. But irrigation was not their primary purpose; that was to supply drinking-water for man and beast, water for domestic purposes. The reservoirs are attached to fortified towns and fortresses, which without them could not have had an existence. They often possess a sacred character. Their coolness and pleasantness and adornment count as profits.

And I am not arguing against reservoirs. There is no general proposition for or against. There are large tracts where the conditions are favourable, the lie of the land, the character of the soil, of the rainfall—it makes all the difference whether the reservoir is filled once in the year or oftener—other tracts where they are not. In Madras the former is the case, and more than half the area irrigated there in 1899-1900 was from tanks; in the Deccan the latter. Let the facts be faced, and the results of costly experiments not be ignored but accepted. I protest against the cry for tanks, reservoirs, "works of storage" everywhere, which may prove so wasteful—and we need economy in India—so detrimental to the cause of irrigation, of famine protection. Plainly and directly, I protest against the spending of Indian money to tickle English feeling—experimentally, hazardously.

The capital cost of all the works in the table was, in round numbers, Rs. 90,400,000, on which they gave a return of 7 per cent. The total area irrigated was very nearly three million acres, of which over one million acres

were under wheat, one and a half million acres under other food crops. Those are satisfactory results. They have been achieved by hard work and personal self-devotion. With regard to the canal engineers, Mr. Deakin, in his book, speaks of their "high character and great ability"; "their physical trials" in the "weary, wasting, feverish" periods of the year; their "enormous responsibilities"; their "bold and brilliant engineering"; bears this most honourable testimony: "The public spirit, incorruptible integrity, and tenderness to natives exhibited by most officers is highly creditable to them and to their country."

Mention having been made of the difficulties connected with the first opening of the Ganges Canal, it has to be pointed out that for the past forty years this great artificial river, with its passage through, and over, and under great torrents, its great "Falls," has been kept running almost continuously through nearly the whole of every year, through all periods of demand. Nothing could speak more eloquently for original construction and subsequent management.

The income of the works is not derived from irrigation alone. The revenue from all sources is given in the following table for all the works together, and for the Ganges Canal separately :

Source of Income.	All the Works.	Ganges Canal.
	Rupees.	Rupees.
Irrigation ... ..	93,05,000	42,77,000
Water-power ... ..	85,000	43,000
Plantations ... ..	2,01,000	88,000
Navigation ... ..	16,000	6,300
Miscellaneous ... ..	66,000	23,300
Totals ... ..	96,73,000	44,37,600

The income is gross, and given in round numbers.

A glance at the first two items indicates the present industrial condition of India, the condition it is so desirable

to alter—the enormous preponderance of agriculture over manufactures. Here in the midst of the land is an amount of power that might work many a factory going to waste unused. It is difficult to say what the value of it might not be if the tract in which it runs to waste began to resemble, in a distant degree even, those manufacturing districts of England from which it gets the goods it might make on the spot. The Government could not enter into general commercial enterprises in order to utilize it, but it could do so in the manufacture of its own stores. The advantage of making these in India so as to save on the cost of remittances to England has long been recognised. The force which in the past has been the source of great expenditure and little profit may in the future become one of great profit too. On the Ganges Canal the amount of that force is very great; the expenditure due to it has been very great, and the table shows how small the returns. The power has been utilized only in the working of flour-mills. These in the past were made and maintained, for good reasons, of the simplest type possible. But India has passed into a new condition. Flour-mills of the best European model have been erected there now. As everywhere, and ever, in the East, there has always been a great demand in India for fine wheat-flour, a demand which is now increasing and extending, while the export of wheat-flour has doubled itself within the past six years. I do not think the erection of new mills of a superior class should be undertaken by the Canal itself, but there seems a very fine opening here for private enterprise.

Fine avenues and plantations of trees extend along the main canals for hundreds of miles, and, with the broad, flowing streams between, form a delightful and refreshing feature in the landscape, and trees and water together must tend to ameliorate the conditions of the climate. Originally, the growing of timber trees was chiefly attended to; but when in charge of the Ganges Canal and called upon for a special report on the subject, the following points pre-

sented themselves : (1) That on the made soil and in the close proximity to water the timber trees had often too quick a growth for soundness. (2) That in the case of trees for fuel such quick growth was an advantage. (3) That owing to the closing of the Government forests and the great demand for brick-burning, the cost of fuel pressed heavily on the poorer classes in the towns. (4) That the great want of the land was that of manure, owing to the cattle-droppings which would have supplied it best, both in quantity and quality, being burnt for fuel, so that the supply of wood fuel was a matter of the greatest importance, more especially in tracts watered by the canals, which enabled the better class of crops to be grown. (5) That the returns from timber were prospective, those from fuel immediate, and it was as well for the canal to show good returns as soon as possible. It was recommended, therefore, that the growing of fuel should be taken up more largely and systematically, and one bank of the canal be devoted wholly to that purpose. It will be observed that the revenue from plantations now stands second on the list.

The income from navigation is very small, and, as it does not cover the charges, the work is carried on at a loss. I have said before that the difficulty of combining navigation with irrigation where the natural conditions were not favourable had been put to proof on the Ganges Canal, and that on it the income from the former was a very small fraction of that from the latter. Let the reader compare the figures. Let him do so ; let him consider further how greatly the canal has added to the prosperity of the people during the past thirty years ; how it has been the mainstay of the land in two great famines. Then let him ponder the fact that Lord Ellenborough, as Governor-General of India, ordered that this canal was to be "primarily for navigation, not irrigation," and that "only such water should be applied to the latter object as was not required for the former."

This concludes the review of the works ; but there are

two other points I wish to dwell on. It has been shown that drainage has received attention from the canal engineers from a very early period; interference with it avoided on new works, remedied on old ones, so far as the provision of funds allowed. Many large separate drainage works have been carried out, bringing large new areas under cultivation and irrigation. But the interference with drainage by the people has not been dealt with. This exists on a large scale. Before the construction of the canals the irrigation of the Doâb was carried on by means of wells, and of tanks formed by throwing earthen dams across the natural drainage lines. These dams have often risen up into great mounds, on which stand villages and fortresses. They then form a conspicuous feature in the landscape. But those only who have had occasion to study the face of the country closely are aware of the extent to which the practice prevails. It has produced a great confusion in the drainage, turning it from its natural courses—produced waterlogging, malariousness, it may be the destructive saline efflorescence known as *reh*. I have seen the water dammed back over large areas to water small ones. The great village-crowned mounds cannot be removed. With regard to the far more numerous smaller dams it has to be said, on the one hand, that if it is held that public irrigation works should not be allowed to obstruct the natural drainage, produce marshes, it would seem that private ones should not be allowed to do so either; on the other, that they have become part and parcel of the agricultural economy, that where they supply the only means of irrigation the evils must be balanced against that advantage. But where there are canal channels to provide irrigation in a better way the question assumes another aspect. The irrigation from the tanks being always “lift,” the canal irrigation need not always be more expensive; there is its greater quickness of watering and its certainty, especially in dry years; there is the advantage to health by the substitution of running water for stagnant; there is, as direct pecuniary gain, the

obtaining of a larger area for cultivation. I would commend this subject to careful consideration.

The other matter is the getting of a larger produce from the land, not by extension, but intension ; not by increasing the area of cultivation, but obtaining a larger return from that which exists. There is one way in which that may come about, to which I have never seen allusion made. Move about in the country where you will, you see no mansions, farms, or cottages, as in England ; the agricultural population is wholly, landlord and tenant, gathered together in the villages. For the lands of every village the village is the labour-centre, the manure-centre, the water-centre ; there is the tank, the best wells. Round it lies, consequently, the zone of greatest fertility. There are three such zones, separately named and classified, separately valued and assessed : that innermost zone, a middle zone, and the outermost. In some places the figures 10,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  would represent the relative degrees of value, of fertility. Here seems room for agricultural development. More labour and manure would make the two outer zones more fertile. Will these be better diffused ? Shall we ever have farmhouses ? I watched for years for any movement of that kind in the Doâb ; but it had not come in my time. The old arrangement has subsisted for ages—the village community is one of the oldest and strongest institutions in India—is deeply grounded in the social conditions and relations, in the character, of the people. As in England the scattered habitations indicate not only long ages of peace, but a bold people, so in India the close gathering into villages, often fortified, indicates the reverse. Then it has to be remembered that mud walls and a thatch roof do not represent a very defensible tenement ; that, owing to the natural features of the land, cattle-lifting is very common ; and that the Indian peasant has all his specie, as other wealth, in the house with him, buried under the floor, or in the shape of gold and silver ornaments on his wife and children. He does not care to live solitary. I

watched, likewise, for a movement which I thought might precede the other—the formation of small, new hamlets. This did take place sometimes, but it was due to special causes—the cutting in two of the lands of a village by a railway or canal, for instance—not to the general working of the new condition of things due to our rule. On the other hand, the canal irrigation is a very potent agent. Its appearance in the middle or outermost zone means the cultivation of the better crops there, the flow of manure and labour to the spot. The bullocks, released from drawing water from the wells, are put to use in bringing the manure. The cultivation in the poorer zone is improved, though not to the full extent it might be. And I write of some years back, and the spreading out of the population in canal districts may have begun. The cultivator has become more self-reliant. In any case where the canal channels pass through the lands furthest from the village every care should be taken to make the communication between them and the village easy and free. Additional bridges across the canal channels should not be grudged. Returns from higher-paying crops will soon cover their cost.

About new works. Two other canals are projected in Bundelkhand. I have no detailed information with regard to them, but I would urge that the points dwelt on above with reference to the Betwa Canal should be considered in connection with them. Lying in the same region, derived from rivers of the same class, they would probably resemble it in being costly and unprofitable. Should they also lead to an annual loss of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs of rupees each, then we should have a small amount of annual irrigation, of famine protection, obtained at an annual loss of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs of rupees, the profits of the whole system of works reduced. Would such expenditure be right? It should always be borne in mind that when works are constructed avowedly without hope of profit, the great motive for economy of construction is removed. Present indications and past experience all tend to show that for cool and balanced judgment and safe-

guarding of the public funds irrigation projects should be considered after years of heavy rainfall, drainage schemes after a drought. There seems no thought of the latter just now.

A reference to the first table, a comparison of the "Return per cent." and the "Duty per cubic foot" of the Ganges Canal and Lower Ganges Canal with that of the Eastern Jumna Canal will show what room there is for expansion on the two Ganges Canals, especially the Lower, even though the return of 27 per cent. be one they cannot be expected, for various reasons, to reach to. This expansion is the work here now. The money spent on it will be as well spent as on any new work, and it will be more profitable—more famine protective—for Bundelkhand than any money spent there on similar works.

In the great conjoint province of Oudh there are at present no works of irrigation such as those dealt with above. This fine fertile tract, with large, snow-fed rivers running through it, would seem to present the very field for such works. After the famine of 1860-61 the preparation of a large irrigation scheme for it was taken in hand. Plans and estimates were drawn out. The scheme seems to have been of too large and general a character, a line having been run down the whole length of each of the tracts between the various rivers, though their upper portions lie on the Himalayan slopes, their lower ends in contact with Bengal. Whatever the reasons for it, I presume the scheme, notwithstanding the cost of its preparation, has been definitely abandoned, as the dotted lines of its channels no longer appear on the map; most other schemes of this character have afforded their projector the reward of being carried out—if no other. One objection to it was the cost. There was also a strong opposition to the scheme on the score that the existing irrigation from wells and tanks was amply sufficient, that the introduction of more water was more likely to do harm than good. When, in the recent famine, many parts of the province were seriously



affected, a smaller and more local and less costly project was prepared. But with regard to it, too, the objections cited above seem to have prevailed. They are objections not to be regarded lightly. But it is a large tract, with varied characteristics; here, again, it would seem there ought to be no general proposition—canals everywhere or canals nowhere. It is a matter for inquiry. To what extent is the opposition of the people—that is, of the great landlords—due to a dislike of a disturbance of existing arrangements, to a dislike of a new thing, to the appearance upon their lands of a new official agency, to the fear of a higher assessment? To what extent is the existing irrigation an interference with drainage? Those who talk, or write, of not allowing a drop of water to run wasted to the sea forget that the stoppage of it means a stoppage of drainage. It means the production of the evils dwelt on by Lord Salisbury—injury to the land, injury to the health of the people. It means the covering of the land with stagnant pools. A system of clear drainage lines and running rills of water would be better than that. What is wanted here is inquiry; that the hydrography of the tract should, in Lord Curzon's words, "be scientifically considered and mathematically laid down."

In Oudh, as in Bundelkhand and the Doâb, the various rivers and drainage channels run long courses not far removed from one another, and so divide the land into long, narrow sections, which they tend to confine and isolate, and so prevent their full agricultural development and expose them to famine. Lateral communications, the bridging of these streams, may possibly be the great want here. It is obvious that if a railway runs down one of these sections, which is cut off from the similar sections on either side by such streams, the establishment of full communication with them would triple the benefit of the railway.

I may be permitted to make some observations with regard to other spheres of irrigation which have occurred to me when reading their last irrigation reports. In Bengal it

is possible that the full development of the irrigation on the Sone Canal has been prevented by the fact of so enormous a proportion of the distribution channels, 1,400 out of 1,600 miles, having been made by the cultivators themselves. In Madras drainage works seem wanted, and a more harmonious working of the Irrigation and Revenue Departments. In Bombay, Sind, and not the Deccan, appears to present the great field for future irrigation operations. The Deccan suffers from the fundamental difficulties of an infertile soil and a precarious rainfall, evils of fortune which the inhabitants remedied in the old days by levying contributions on more favoured tracts, and turning the difficult, rugged nature of their own land into an asset. As quoted already, the Famine Commission of 1898 laid it down that in the Deccan not waterworks but railways "were more likely to be immediately profitable," and "should have first attention." Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, the head of the Irrigation Commission, brought his Indian experience to bear with remarkable effect on the valley of the Nile, and now his Egyptian experience might be brought to bear with as great advantage on the valley of the Indus. The Punjab, with the continued utilization of the water of its splendid river system, the bold and successful application of it to the reclamation and populating of great waste, uninhabited tracts, is likely soon to present one of the greatest fields of irrigation in India. But the Indus still rolls down a vast, unused supply to the ocean. Both in the Punjab and in Sind there seems a great opening for the conversion of inundation canals into perennial.

We have come down from 1875 to 1902. In their "estimate of relative values" Lord Salisbury and Sir Arthur Cotton were both right and wrong. Canals and railways both now pay, make a large direct return to the State, and add to its revenues. The canals reached Lord Salisbury's "desired result of a clean balance-sheet" some years ago. The railways attained to the same happy point

in 1900, when they yielded a clear surplus of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs of rupees, which has much increased since. Of the canals it is expected that soon "the net direct financial profit" on them will be "sufficient to meet two-thirds of the whole estimated cost of famine." Let not that surplus be turned into an adverse balance by the construction of glorifying, but not paying, works.

## VALUE OF WATER IN INDIA.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

As this subject is now receiving considerable attention in England in connection with the famines, which have so afflicted this country, and of late more frequently than in any former years of which we have any authentic records, I purpose in this article to show how important it is to secure as good a water-supply as possible for India, not only to prevent famines, but to enable the people to carry on their industries profitably, and thus be enabled to contribute securely to the maintenance of the Government revenue.

In a recent lecture in London, Sir William Lee Warner, no mean authority on Indian affairs, is reported to have said: "The Irrigation Department is the *best* means of learning the ways of our Indian administration, that it is the stay of Indian finance, and a potent political and moral force." Such being the case, it is difficult to understand why the views and opinions of the late Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., met with such determined opposition in England from the highest officials connected with Indian affairs; for he had proved by his life's work how much this country was benefited by the hydraulic works he had *himself* instituted and carried out under his own supervision. And in India he was universally admitted to be the highest authority in hydraulic works, and to blame him now, because some works he had projected, which were carried out by engineers who had never served under him and who knew nothing of the principles on which Sir Arthur worked, seems, to say the least about the matter, hardly fair towards an officer whose single aim in life was to serve her late Majesty's Government in India most faithfully, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of the population to the utmost of his ability and experience.

As it has been publicly alleged that India possesses a good and sufficient water-supply for all purposes, and that, therefore, there is no need to develop this largely, let us see what has been done in this matter approximately on the authority of the present Governor-General and Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, who, soon after taking office, stated that the extent of land irrigated in India was 19,000,000 of acres, and that, by a carefully prepared estimate which had been furnished to him, it was impossible to extend irrigation to more than 3,000,000 of acres. It is much to be regretted his lordship did not give the data on which this estimate was arrived at, but we can examine it in a general way, in this manner, and see if it is at all near the mark. India contains about 1,700,000 square miles, or 1,088,000,000 acres of land, and, according to the above estimate, it is only possible to irrigate about one-fiftieth of this enormous area from the great rivers flowing through all this territory ! Now, if only 12 inches of rainfall runs off one square mile of land, and is properly stored in good reservoirs, the yield is upwards of 1,000,000 cubic yards of water, quite sufficient to irrigate 100 acres of paddy cultivation, or 170,000,000 acres in all India, instead of the 22,000,000 Lord Curzon supposes it possible to irrigate.

That something more than this is quite possible we will proceed to show from the data and observations so carefully registered by Sir Alexander Binnie, C.E., in the Nagpore Water Works, which he established in 1870-74, and his data are fully confirmed by the records of the Godavery Anikut for fifty years, showing the quantities of water running to waste into the sea over that weir every year without fail. Sir Alexander was quite satisfied that from a catchment area so small as 6.6 square miles in the plains of Nagpore, having an average rainfall of 40.73 inches in the year, it was possible to store enough water to irrigate about 170 acres per square mile ; as the drainage area of the whole Godavery basin is upwards of 100,000 square miles, it is, then, quite possible to irrigate some 17,000,000 of acres in

that one basin alone. As the rainfall in the Western Ghats and on the Vindia range of hills in the Central Provinces is considerably more than in the plains of Nagpore, and the larger tributaries of the Godavery River all receive their water from these hills, it is quite evident that upwards of 20,000,000 acres of land might be irrigated in this province alone by properly constructed reservoirs, and that such works should have been established years ago is quite apparent from the following remarks of Sir A. Binnie: "He agreed with Sir George Campbell as to the *necessity* for the construction of large reservoirs in India, and with General Cotton as to their *perfect feasibility*. Nor was it from any fault of the engineers in India that they were not constructed within the last few years in a comparatively small district like that of the Central Provinces. He knew of two irrigation projects, both depending for their supply on large irrigation reservoirs. These had been sent up to the Government of India, but they were still unsanctioned."

This warning was given in 1874, and up to this date nothing has been done in those provinces towards establishing reservoirs of any sort or kind, and the consequences we have in the last report of the Chief Commissioner on the recent famines in them. There has been a loss of land revenue, amounting to 77 lacs of rupees, the losses to the ryots in the value of crops and live stock cannot be estimated at less than 308 lacs of rupees, and the outlay on famine relief works has been 450 lacs of rupees, making a total of 825 lacs of rupees of *dead* loss to the country, without taking into account any interest charges or the outlay on the railways which traverse those provinces. The loss of human life is given as 1,000,000; what numbers of cattle were lost is not stated, but the above is quite sufficient to show "that the principal stay of Indian finance"—irrigation—has never been properly attended to in that part of India at all events; and there is no evidence to show that any other parts of this country have been better

provided with proper means of irrigation. So little has been done in India towards storing water in reservoirs on any large scale, that it is impossible to give even an approximate estimate of the probable cost. The Godavery and Kistna Anikut works have cost about Rs. 18 per acre for irrigation and navigation. Supposing the cost of storing water in the upper basins of rivers amounts to Rs. 40 per acre, and a water-rate of Rs. 3 per acre were realized, the return would be  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; this moderate return would be far better than incurring such great losses as those of the Central Provinces. If only 10,000,000 acres of land had been provided with proper means of irrigation, for which there is an abundant water-supply always available in those provinces, not only would the Government revenue have been placed on a secure and sound basis, but the frightful loss of life of man and beast would certainly have been avoided, whilst the surplus water from all this irrigation must find its way into the main drainage of the Godavery basin, and keep that river navigable for about 500 miles inland throughout the year, and finally all this stored water would reach the Godavery Anikut, and afford most abundant means for irrigating the Delta in the hot weather, where it is so much needed.

I am of opinion that the great reason why sugar-cane is not more extensively cultivated in this Delta is because the water-supply is so very fluctuating in the dry months of the year. Like the Nile, there is an abundance of water in the Godavery River from the middle of June to the middle of December in every year for the ordinary paddy cultivation, but afterwards the supply begins to fail, and in seasons of bad rainfall the failure is almost total. Now, the sugar-cane in India requires a good supply of water for ten months in the year, and in the existing state of affairs, without any reservoirs on the upper basins of the river, the ryot has no assurance that he will be able to mature his crop of sugar-cane. The expenses of cultivation are heavy, and it is, therefore, no wonder very few will enter into

such a speculation, when they are quite sure of raising a good crop of rice in six months, though the profits are less. There is nothing in the soil or climate to prevent the cane being largely cultivated, if only the water-supply were secure, so, then, I cannot but think the reason why the people do not cultivate this cane abundantly is the same here as it is all over India. Nothing whatever has been done, up to date, to secure a proper water-supply for this country, so that its chief industry, agriculture, can be carried on economically and profitably. In my experience of fifty years in India, I have always found the ryot quite willing to pay for the water when I had secured the supply to him. In the Bellary district, where the rainfall is most fluctuating, by an outlay of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees in three years in repairing and improving the old irrigation works, in which the people always most willingly co-operated, we increased the area of irrigation by about 80,000 acres, and the ryots readily agreed to pay Rs. 5 per acre as a water-rate, so the outlay was all recovered in a short time. I never paid any attention whatever to the complaints about the ryot not taking the water; my only reply to all this was, "You do not take care to see that the ryot is securely and regularly supplied with the water, and the fault is yours, and not with him at all."

A brief account of the Godavery works will, perhaps, enable the English reader to understand what can be done by irrigation for the people of this country. This district had been desolated by famines when it came into the possession of the British Government, and for several years afterwards, its revenue, which had been nearly Rs. 26,92,000 in 1833-34, had fallen to about Rs. 17,26,000 in 1843-44, and there was no probability of its ever improving, for the people were flying the country when Sir A. Cotton was called upon by the Government to see if something could not be done with its noble river to improve matters, in the same way he had done for the Tanjore district on the Cauvery River. His proposals were approved of, and the



Anikut works were sanctioned for execution early in 1847.

It is unnecessary to go into details about their construction and execution ; suffice it to say that since the introduction of an admirable system of irrigation, the district has brightened and revived. Famine is unknown. The people are prosperous and contented. Its revenue has expanded, and is more elastic than ever, and its population has quadrupled since 1842. The cost of the works has been about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million sterling, but it is impossible to judge of their value and importance from the revenue accounts, as the Board of Revenue, Madras, in 1850 would not allow a water-rate to be levied till a revenue survey and settlement had been carried out, and this was not accomplished for over fifteen years, and then the water-rate was fixed as low as possible for such an abundant water-supply so as to depreciate the project as much as possible. We can form some idea of the value of these works from the fact that there is now upwards of 700,000 acres of land irrigated without fail every year, and the money value of this produce to the people is estimated to be 175 lacs of rupees a year.

This real estate has a saleable value of upwards of 35 million sterling, at the rate of £50 per acre, which is a moderate estimate for such well-irrigated land in India. Over 300 million sterling has been spent on the railways in India, and they have not increased the value of real estate by a single farthing. The revenue from stamps in the Godavery district has increased over 3,000 per cent. in the last fifty years, showing very clearly how enormously the industrial occupations and commercial enterprise of the people have been promoted by a good system of hydraulic works.

During the same time it is publicly admitted that the railways have established no new industries in India, the goods traffic is extremely small, and the passenger traffic, amongst a population seven times larger than that of the United Kingdom, is the most trifling and insignificant in

the world ; it is no wonder, then, these works have done nothing towards developing trade or traffic in India. Amongst the many grievances of the Uitlanders in South Africa, the heavy cost of railway transport was most insisted upon. What a burden this is on a country like India can be easily estimated from the following figures : In the United States of America the revenue from goods traffic is earned at the rate of about 1s. a ton a year. In the United Kingdom the rate is about 2s. 6d. a ton a year, and in India the rate is about 12s. a ton a year, so that besides burdening this country with a debt of over 300 million sterling, and a chronic deficit in all its budgets, India has to pay this enormous tax to support the railway system, which cannot by any possibility prevent famines occurring. When it is pretended that railways have been of the greatest use in times of famines in carrying food to the districts so afflicted, it must be remembered they are paid for all this work out of the public taxes, and the charitable contributions sent to India from all parts of the Empire ; the revenues thus obtained cannot by any possibility promote or develop any industries whatever, and hence it is that the accumulation of capital in India has been so prevented since these works were established here that the bazaar rates for lending money have more than doubled in the last fifty years, and the income of the population has been diminished in proportion, except in such districts as the Godavery, Tanjore, etc., where the Sowcars have been almost abolished by a good system of irrigation, by which the people are enabled to carry on their industries without having recourse to these usurers, by whom the ryot is ground to the dust ; and until the Government alter this policy, and provide the people with the only means by which they can by any possibility carry on their agriculture securely, there is no hope for India, and England may look to have this country as an intolerable burden on her hands.

The Godavery River is no doubt a large one, but in comparison with such rivers as the Indus and the Ganges,

and above all the Brahmaputra, the great rivers of India, it is a very insignificant stream. The little that has been done for the Godavery shows how good results can be easily secured in India, by a good water-supply, if maintained by large reservoirs, as Sir George Campbell pointed out thirty years ago; but not a single reservoir of any capacity has yet been constructed in India by the British Government. The physical characteristics of most of the rivers in India are much the same as those of the Nile: they begin to rise in floods in June by the rains of the south-west monsoon, and are affected more or less by the rains of the north-east monsoon; in general there is abundance of water in all the large rivers from June to December, as in the Nile; afterwards the rivers fall very rapidly, and the supply in them cannot be relied on, as it varies with the rainfall of the season. This was at once recognised in Egypt by the Government, and large storage reservoirs are now being constructed on the Nile and its tributaries, to moderate heavy floods and to establish a more certain supply of water throughout the year to the Delta as well as the uplands. In India, however, this has been to all intents and purposes prohibited by His Majesty's Government, and it has been declared in Parliament that India shall not have a wholesale water-supply, but the railway system shall be continued as heretofore. Under these circumstances, it is very strange to find the Chambers of Commerce at home are assured that India has always possessed a good system of irrigation, and this has been and is now being encouraged by the Government of India, whereas not a single river in the country has been properly attended to, none have been provided with storage reservoirs, and all the reports from the several provinces show very clearly that no proper data have yet been collected, on which any good system of hydraulic works can be successfully established. These reports in general only exhibit the extent of land irrigated in certain villages, and they are compiled apparently by Catcherry or Baboo Goomashtás, from the common village records; there is nothing in them

to show that any attention whatever has been paid to a proper registration of the rainfall, and to divide this into periods of the year according to season ; the maximum and minimum rainfall in the several basins do not appear to have been at all carefully observed, so as to be able to arrive at any fair average ; the exceedingly fluctuating character of the rainfall in the tropics is never noticed, for it is this which shows, more than anything else, the absolute necessity for constructing large storage reservoirs in this country ; the run-off has never yet been properly observed, though it varies most enormously in every drainage basin ; the losses by evaporation and percolation have not been registered in any satisfactory manner for all parts of the country ; and as to preventing waste in the use of water, no attempts have yet been made in India to establish this. What little attention is paid to this all-important subject is quite apparent from the following figures : In the Godavery district 1 cubic foot per second irrigates about 66 acres of land ; in the Kistna district this is said to be as high as 90 acres per cubic foot of flow ; but in the Tanjore district this quantity of water irrigates *only 22 acres* ; so it is very easy to form an idea of the frightful waste of water now prevailing in India by such a haphazard system of revenue management since the mainstay of Indian finance is attended to in this manner. Another instance can be given : During the last twenty years some 60 lacs of rupees have been spent on the tank restoration scheme in Madras. In the reports there is absolutely nothing to show how the tanks have been improved, if any increased area has been brought under irrigation, if any proper registration of catchment areas, rainfall run off, losses by evaporation and percolation, have been maintained. Nowhere is it exhibited in any of those annual reports what quantity of water is required to be stored for an acre of land and what quantity runs off to waste ; the cost of establishment is not even noticed. And such a system of loose administration is declared to be quite perfect and faultless, and India

requires nothing better. There is not a shadow of a doubt that fully half or more of the available rainfall of the country is utterly wasted by what is called "a potent political and moral force."

So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, then, the words of the Famine Commissioners are as applicable to it as they were when written twenty years ago, and little or nothing has been done to promote irrigation since Sir A. Cotton left India. As regards the Kurnool-Cuddapah canal, that officer cannot by any possibility be held responsible for its utter failure; he certainly did project those works, but after his departure his ideas were set aside altogether, and no one connected with him was allowed to have anything to do with the works. The engineers who advised and carried out the works on their own ideas, and totally failed to grasp Sir Arthur's project, are evidently responsible for this deplorable failure, and by their fruits they must be judged; and it is very discreditable that any attempts should have been made to cast the blame of such doings on an officer whose professional capacity had been so well proved and established. It cannot be said, with any truth, that the failure of irrigation in Madras is due to over-assessment. In the adjacent Province of Mysore, in a season of great scarcity, the water-rate realized by the native rulers from their old unimproved tanks and channels was Rs. 4 per acre, which is about 30 per cent. higher than under the British Government; and for *dry* lands the rate was  $15\frac{1}{2}$  annas per acre, which is 50 per cent. higher than the average obtained in Madras. The Dewans in Native States do not allow their Tahsildars and subordinates to make remissions on every sort and kind of pretence, and share these with the ryots; under the English rule, as sure as a good and abundant water-supply is secured for the people, these underlings of the Revenue Department go in for any amount of remissions, and this is the chief cause why the returns from irrigation in India are so trifling to the Government. If in Mysore the people can afford to

pay over 300 per cent. increase of assessment for the benefits of a very precarious water-supply in seasons of great scarcity, it is perfectly absurd to grant any remissions whatever for such an abundant water-supply as is afforded in the Delta districts of Madras.

The Madras Presidency is divided into twenty-two districts, which yield a land revenue of about 550 lacs of rupees a year; on an average of this sum, three Delta districts yield about 180 lacs of rupees, or 32 per cent. Their areas are about one-seventh of the whole Presidency, and their population about one-seventh of the same, and it is admitted on all hands they are the most prosperous of all the districts in Madras. The irrigation works which maintain this prosperity were all constructed under the personal supervision of the late Sir A. Cotton, and yet, after he left India he is blamed for the failure of irrigation works in Madras, when all his experience and instructions were set aside, and the works were carried on by engineers who persisted in constructing them on *their* own notions, and have proved their total incompetency by the utter failure of their operations, and so have left the whole Presidency exposed to all the horrors of famines. And it is most lamentable to think even of Englishmen thus casting blame on a single man, whose whole life had been devoted to the service and improvement of this country. Of the great rivers of India, which drain off the rainfall from about two-thirds of the area of the whole country, and all take their rise amongst the most stupendous mountain range of the world, the Himalayas, covered with eternal snow, it cannot be said that anything whatever has been done for them, though most abundantly supplied with water throughout the year by the melting of the snow in the hot weather, which acts as a natural reservoir to maintain a regular flow of water in these rivers. From the Indus some canals have been taken out, but as these are not furnished with proper regulating head works, the supply of water in them is very fluctuating. During the river floods the country

is overflowed with water, endangering the works and the crops under the canals, and when the water is low in the river the supply in the canals is very insufficient, and the crops cannot be matured. The main stream of the river has never been brought into any proper regimen, and it wanders at will, destroying the banks, etc.

From the Upper Ganges a large canal has been taken out for irrigation purposes, but this has not been again connected with the main stream whence this is navigable to the sea, so the country has not been provided with the advantages of intercourse with the commerce of the world. In Lower Bengal the permanent settlement prevails, and thus a Delta, as large almost as that of the Nile, is deprived of all the benefits of irrigation, and this great river conveys its abundant supply of water almost uselessly to the sea, and will do so till Parliament repeals this most obnoxious land settlement, which was made entirely for the benefit of the landlords and the ruin of the people, without any regard for the interests of the State. The Brahmaputra is perhaps the finest of all the rivers in India; it is estimated to discharge six times the volume of water conveyed by the Ganges, and runs through one of the most fertile valleys in the world, but not a pint of water is taken out of it for general purposes of improving the land. It requires to be embanked almost throughout to prevent the destruction of its banks, and to keep the main channel navigable; its bar at Chittagong requires to be deepened, to allow ocean-going steamers to pass into the river, where there is room enough for all the shipping of the world to anchor safely in. If, then, the Irrigation Department is the best means of learning what the administration of India has been doing for more than a century, we have only to compare this with what has been done in Egypt in less than twenty years, under very similar physical conditions, to see of what an utter failure the whole system of administration this country has been.

The following is reported to be the exact words lately

used by Lord Cromer: "I have no hesitation in saying that, had it not been for the labours of the eminent hydraulic engineers who, for the last seventeen years, have placed their services at the disposal of the Egyptian Government, *the most skilful financial guidance* would not have availed both to place the Egyptian Treasury in a position of *assured solvency*, and to meet in any adequate degree the constant demands which are the necessary accompaniment of a policy of reform. The solid value of their services are as cordially acknowledged by the most ignorant cultivator as by the larger land-owners and the cotton merchants."

No greater condemnation of the policy pursued towards India in depriving this country of all good hydraulic works, and running into reckless indebtedness for the railway system, can possibly be found: whilst the Egyptian finances have been placed in a position "of assured solvency," the Indian finances have been only just saved from bankruptcy by windfalls, as admitted by the Viceroy himself, and the whole country is just as exposed to famines as it ever was, and its trade and traffic are in the most unsatisfactory condition, whilst those of Egypt are progressing "by leaps and bounds."

To give some idea of the hopeless ignorance, poverty, and misery in which the population of India are now existing, it is only necessary to consider the revenue yielded by them to the post-offices and telegraphs, and compare this with that obtained from the same sources in the United Kingdom. In the latter the population is only about one-seventh of that existing in India, and they pay over 8s. per head towards this revenue. In this country, so wretched is the social and commercial intercourse of its people with the world, they pay less than 2d. per head for all their business transactions; and it is actually pretended that the railways have developed the trade and industries of this country, when it is well known that they have not increased the value of real estate by 1d. an acre. As 80 per cent. of the population are agriculturists, living from hand to mouth



in a chronic state of indebtedness, and the bazaar rates for lending money have quite doubled in the last fifty years, during which the railway system has been pushed on at any cost, and the best Government securities are well below par, is it any wonder, where famines do occur, the most appalling mortality prevails amongst man and beast, and the losses to the country are beyond all computation? Under such circumstances, what possible good can be expected to arise by deluding the people of England about all Indian affairs being in a happy state, and the people as contented as possible?

Mr. Tozer, of the India Office, in a recent lecture declared India was the poorest of all the dependencies of Great Britain, and recommended that more English capital, enterprise, and skill should be applied in developing the industries of this country; but he omitted to state what inducements there were under its Government to encourage Englishmen to invest their capital in India. Parliament has sanctioned the policy now prevailing in India, and all its affairs are administered as much in the dark as possible, as recommended by the India Office; and it is well known that Acts of Parliament sanctioned for India are set aside as so much waste-paper by that office, for all British subjects are deprived of their undoubted right to petition the Sovereign *at all times*, under the rules and regulations made by the Secretary of State for India. And this is by no means a solitary instance. Under such circumstances Englishmen are not likely to invest largely in a country where darkness is preferred to the light of day in public affairs. In Egypt, Lord Cromer, who knows the corruptions of Asiatic Governments well, found no difficulty in administering the public affairs of that country on sound English principles, and he took very good care to provide the people with the means of carrying on their industries profitably and economically by a good system of irrigation, by relieving them of all vexatious taxation and corrupt practices, before he wasted their revenues on extravagantly

costly means of transport, such as railways : for he well knew that the means of production must be provided before arrangements can be made for its distribution ; and, in the short space of less than twenty years, Egypt has been brought into a prosperous and flourishing condition, and English capital will readily flow into that country.

Just the opposite policy has been adopted in India, and with the sanction of Parliament ; so the electors of Great Britain must insist on Parliament reversing all those measures, if they wish to make India at all prosperous and be relieved of the reproach of its famines and their attendant horrors. In this country we have followed the Asiatic system of administration for more than a century, in spite of the constant failures. About twenty years ago the Province of Mysore was made over to native rule entirely, and this year we have the results : all irrigation and public works have been utterly neglected, there is a large deficit in the Budget, and the finances are declared to be in such a hopeless condition that retrenchments the most rigid are the order of the day, so that all progress is impossible. A few years ago the *Times* and the press generally were loud in their praises of the native rule in Mysore, declaring it was "a model State," and its finances were in a most flourishing condition, and the sooner we followed suit in our province the better it would be for all India. How these articles were inspired is well known ; the people, though ground to the dust by excessive taxation and extortion, were not allowed to have any voice in the administration, as all petitioning was prevented ; but at last the Viceroy's eyes were opened to the state of affairs in Mysore, and he summarily took steps to change matters, but this change has been made on the old lines, and can by no possibility be productive of good. In Egypt Lord Cromer adopted just the opposite policy : he relieved the labour system of the country of all oppression, taxation and corrupt practices, knowing full well that the foundation of all progress and prosperity consists in developing to the utmost the means

by which the skill, dexterity, and judgment of people can be best employed; and we have the results in his last report. On the other hand, in India we have reams of reports, etc., on the lines of Sir W. Lee Warner and Mr. Tozer, with the results that this country is declared to be the poorest of all countries under British rule, and we ought to fear developing irrigation—"the mainstay of Indian finance"—as Nature might resent this proceeding on the part of impious man! But Nature has done nothing of the kind in Egypt so far as irrigation is concerned; it would be well for the India Office authorities to explain why she would act in a different way towards this country. Has not the God of Nature, by His judgment of famines, plague, etc., shown very clearly that it is our neglect and misrule in India, for mere selfish purposes, that these woes have been sent upon us? He has shown us very clearly by Sir A. Cotton's good work how the interests of the people committed to our rule can be best promoted; for instance, the Godavery district, which, before it was furnished with good hydraulic works, could not afford to pay, on an average, 18 lacs of rupees a year revenue, and was in the most impoverished and destitute condition possible, now pays easily a revenue of near 115 lacs of rupees a year, and its population is in the greatest prosperity, and their condition is improving every year, just because they have been provided with the most suitable means for carrying on their industries profitably and most economically. Had all India been dealt with on the same principles, there is not a doubt, from Lord Cromer's administration in Egypt, that the same results would have been obtained. It is, then, quite clear that for all the ruin and misery now prevailing in India, the people of England are responsible, as they have supported those in authority who have brought about the appalling mortality and losses of capital with which India is now afflicted. For, as Gibbon well remarks, "*The public distress affords a remarkable proof of the impoverished, or at least of the disorderly, state of the finances.* A large proportion of the

taxes extorted from the people was detained and intercepted on their passage through the foulest channels to the treasury of Constantinople " (chapter xxxiv., p. 235). And Indian history has been repeating itself at the present time, notwithstanding all the experience of centuries ; for public distress is often caused by the neglect and oppression of the working classes.

## AGRICULTURAL BANKS, OR CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT IN INDIA.\*

By C. W. WHISH.

I DO not pretend to any right to enlarge on this subject on the score of technical knowledge, and I imagine that this side of the question is so familiar to my readers that to enlarge on it would be little more than useless reiteration. My sole title in writing is that I have just returned from studying the subject as well as I was able to in India itself. I actually saw these agricultural banks in practical operation in several districts, and I both spoke and wrote on the subject while there, and I had long conversations with everybody I could get hold of likely to have any useful ideas on the subject.

I tried to gauge the progress, already made to discover what causes seemed to be checking that progress, and to ascertain how those causes might be removed and this important movement stimulated and furthered.

I do not enlarge upon the *need* of India for these institutions because I consider that that is a subject on which we all are agreed. I have special reasons of my own for considering the present to be a time most opportune for urging on the movement, and on these I may take the opportunity to say a few words later on.

For the purposes of this paper I shall confine my attention to the following topics :

*First*, the progress already made in starting these banks.

*Secondly*, the causes which seem to be hindering the movement.

*Thirdly*, the best means of counteracting the effect of these obstacles.

*Fourthly*, the practical measures which well-wishers of India can take for helping on the scheme.

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for discussion on this paper.

1. As to the progress actually made. I must admit that on my first arrival in India my experiences were somewhat discouraging. I happened to be staying in the same house with the Postmaster-General, who officially had to keep the accounts of these banks, and he greatly shocked me by declaring that in his opinion the whole thing was a farce. But on proceeding to make personal inquiries I saw reasons to put this opinion down to a pessimistic way of looking at things.

We must hope that the official in question was not influenced in his views by a lurking conviction that the scheme would eventually increase the work of his own department. I heard, indeed, a very useful suggestion about the same time, which was that the post-office should keep the accounts of these banks in the same way as they manage their own savings banks. I can only repeat in answer to such criticisms that I actually saw these banks at work in several districts, and came into personal contact with intelligent non-officials who had started them on their own account.

Of course, I do not mean to say that the districts in which the most progress was observable were not those in which the district officials took a personal interest in the matter.

It is quite too early to expect that any movement will have much chance of success in India unless it is officially fathered. It would, perhaps, be not too much to say that the penal code itself is not enforced unless the local officials attend to the matter; it would certainly not be vigorously enforced unless under these conditions. But these facts form no reason for denying to the movement the potentiality of future success.

When the potato was first introduced into India the same remarks were probably made about its cultivation; but it now forms a staple article of Indian agricultural produce.

There are, of course, two general causes which militate against the success of any new movement on Indian soil: the first is the lamentable apathy of the Indian people,

and the second is the equally lamentable suspicion with which they regard all efforts for their welfare. I do not mean to blame the Indian people for these failings; on the contrary, I think that the philosophical student of history ought to be quite prepared to meet them, having regard to the circumstances of the country. But they, none the less, have to be recognised and reckoned with, and very real is the resistance which they present to progress. When the people of India have seen the value of anything practically demonstrated they will not be slow in adopting it. All that we have to do, I think, is to persevere on the lines already laid down, only more so, as the saying is—that is, recognising the extreme importance of the subject, and determining to pay increased attention to it.

We must not imagine that an economical millennium has already dawned for India, but neither must we give way to despondency because the new scheme does not catch on with quite the rapidity we had hoped.

I think we may rest assured that, if these banks are really going to supply the agriculturist with a safe and handy investment for his savings, and at the same time with advances on easy terms when he requires them, their ultimate success is certain. For the present I can assure my readers that a certain amount of success has already been obtained, small it is true, but, for the reasons I have already endeavoured to indicate, as much as can be expected under existing conditions.

This is a matter in which it is above all things necessary to obtain the opinions and criticisms of that section of the community that is most interested, and this leads me naturally to the second subdivision of my subject—viz., the specific causes now checking the progress of these banks in India, which I have gathered from the conversations I had with those actually engaged in working the banks.

2. I have mentioned, among the general causes retarding the progress of our scheme, the opposition and suspicion with which all new things are certain to be received,

especially in a country like India. It is not necessary, therefore, to refer to this as a specific factor of opposition, even could it be correctly assigned to this category.

What struck me as most likely to hinder progress was the multiplicity of rules and regulations, not to say restrictions, under which the new scheme has been launched in the province in which alone I observed its working. After a short period of observation of a new project, it generally becomes necessary to modify it in deference to the teachings of experience as to its practical working.

Reform and remodelling in the direction of simplification would, I think, much increase the popularity of these banks. At present, advances can be made only to those who are actually members of the Co-operative Society. It is true the entrance fee is very small, but even this, and the condition of membership, may operate to exclude from the benefits of the institution those most in need of them. I should be inclined to allow the managing bodies to make advances to whomsoever and in whatsoever manner they thought proper.

Again, I think that the rate of interest—9 per cent.—might not unreasonably be objected to as too high. I also think that the banks should advance seed and grain as well as cash, and that they might purchase agricultural implements and give them out on loan or hire. I think that they might also most usefully make advances to non-agricultural members of the village community, such as weavers or potters, which the present regulations do not provide for.

I have some hesitation in citing as a deterring agency the fact that the banks are not intended to make advances for marriage expenses and other social needs of the cultivator. Nevertheless, I am quite certain that want of provision under this head has tended to detract from the approval with which the new scheme would otherwise have been received.

However much we may deplore extravagances in popular



customs, we must admit that these are imperative calls upon the cultivator's purse; not only does he expect such advances from a bank which is intended to work out his economical salvation, but in making them the management could put pressure on him in the direction of economy.

Most important of all is the consideration that, if the bank will not accommodate him, the cultivator must go to his money-lender. But what if the latter rejects him for having transferred his custom to a rival establishment?

This introduces us to the attitude of the money-lending class towards the new departure. These gentlemen are naturally opposed to the scheme, though they can scarcely be referred to as specific causes of its want of popularity. The primary objection of the money-lender is not without some justification. He says that the Government is preparing to take over all his safe debts, while leaving him the precarious ones. It is, I think, a question which demands our most serious consideration—whether we could not so arrange our scheme as to embrace the very money-lender himself.

I do think that the professional usurer as well as the legal practitioner in India has had scanty justice done to him. Both seem to me largely blamed for defects in the systems under which they work. Have we ever considered how greatly the so-called rapacity of the usurer is produced by the recklessness and bad faith of his customers? Have we ever considered how favourably banking concerns in India compare with those in Europe in the matter of stability?

European financiers would, I think, be astonished if they realized how a dirty little scrap of unstamped paper can go from one end of the peninsula to the other, and be far less difficult to negotiate than a Government bank-note. The magic lies in the signature of the so-called "usurer," whose good faith has never been questioned, and never will be. Whatever opinions we may hold of the moral character of the Indian money-lender, we cannot deny that

he is becoming a power in the land. If, therefore, he opposes our new scheme, it must be worth while to consider how that opposition could be disarmed. If we could guarantee him 9 per cent. on every advance, would it not be to the money-lender's interest to identify himself with us?

Personally, I think the really solvent cultivator ought to obtain advances free of interest, or, at all events, at a rate much lower than 9 per cent.; but we must not, of course, withdraw the stimulus to saving. While admitting that there will be great differences of opinion on this subject, I still wish to put in a plea for the general reliability of the Indian cultivator as a borrower.\* I made the acquaintance of a European landholder the other day, who told me that for the past twenty years he had been in the habit of making advances to native agriculturists, had never dreamed of security of any kind, and had never lost one penny of his money.

This subdivision of the subject is one which seems to call loudly for consideration and discussion. In all probability the conditions will be different in different villages. In some there would be room for the money-lender as well as for the agricultural bank; in others, the two could be merged and identified. I might mention, as another instance of the suspicion and uncertainty with which the new movement is regarded, that speculation is rife as to the view likely to be taken by the courts should the private debts of members form the subject of litigation. As joint liability pertains to the co-operative credit societies, it is thought that they might be held liable for the private debts of individual members.

3. Under this third head, regarding measures to counteract these hindrances, there does not seem much to be said, and of that a good deal has been anticipated in what has gone before. For the sake of completeness, however, I may recapitulate the evils and their suggested remedies, including those not already alluded to.

For the apathy, suspicion, and general opposition of the class for whose benefit the scheme is intended, no specific remedy can be suggested ; we must wait for the effect of time and the progress of civilization. But, as above stated, I think the Indian people will not be behindhand in recognising and utilizing such benefits when their value is demonstrated to them. The most effective measure will be to multiply the experimental establishments of the banks under official supervision and direction.

And there is one more thing that we can do, and, I think, ought to do, with reference to every institution we introduce into India : we can try and induce the section of the community concerned to speak their minds freely, to point out defects, and to suggest remedies.

If the multiplication of rules is the hindrance which I believe it to be, the way to remove that hindrance is obvious. A reform in the direction of simplicity is likely to promote the efficient working of the banks.

Similar remarks apply to the obstacles presented by the restricted scope of operation. Advances to a larger number of persons and for a greater variety of purposes would surely insure a greater measure of success. Numerous ways in which the functions and usefulness of the banks could be extended suggest themselves. All Government advances to cultivators for agricultural purposes could be made through their agency. I have paid particular attention to this subject in the discharge of my official duties in India, and I know only too well how the usefulness of these advances is paralyzed by the want of some such distributing agency. All moneys advanced in time of famine, might be distributed in the same way. In short, there is no limit to the usefulness of these banks if they could only be organized in such a way as to command the confidence of the village community. In this connection one thought occurs to my mind, which I almost hesitate to mention, as, though personally convinced of its importance, I can scarcely hope for support in this opinion. I should

like to see these banks utilized to pay in the revenue of solvent proprietors, and thus save them from the too often vexatious procedure which attends its collection under present conditions. The imagination almost fails to paint the benefits which would be conferred upon agricultural India if such a system could be introduced. The banks would become a kind of buffer between our necessarily inelastic system of collection and the really solvent revenue payer. Under such a system the enormously difficult question of suspensions of revenue might be approached, which the rigidity of our methods renders practically impossible at present. But I must not linger on this absorbing theme except to suggest that the real solution is the revival of the Indian village communal system, on which I must say a few words before concluding this paper.

The hostility of money-lenders has been referred to as an obstacle to progress, and I have already suggested as a remedy the identification of the money-lender himself with the scheme. I therefore pass on to the next point, which is the high rate of interest at present charged.

In this connection we have to balance the claims of the thrifty and saving cultivator against those of the needy one. The former requires a fair rate of interest on his savings, but I cannot think that the borrower ought under any circumstances to be charged more than 5 per cent.

Lastly, as to the responsibility of the banks for private debts, the only way of ending the uncertainty on this score is to bring a few test cases, in the hearing of which the legal question could be argued and set at rest.

4. It remains to give a few suggestions as to practical means of helping on this movement, and first, as to the official attitude towards it. The Government official must surely feel that this is not a question of paternal government, to be treated with contempt as such, but a matter almost involving the life and death of the Indian people. It is surely not too much to say that no single

department of the revenue officer's work is of such vital moment to the agriculturist, and in none will the administrator be so richly repaid for any special attention which he may be able to afford. And in this matter the official class can surely ask for, and receive, the opinions of all sorts and conditions of men. It is not an administrative matter, in which official reticence might shrink from questioning or Asiatic diplomacy demur to giving a truthful answer.

The commercial and non-official community in India can also do yeoman service in helping on this good work. Many have, I am happy to see, already done so, in the press, on the platform, and in even more tangible ways. At home we can all contribute our little quota of help. If asked how this can be done, I would say first let us all do our utmost to do away with the apathy with which this and all Indian questions are regarded on British soil. If we have no power or opportunity of making public utterances on the subject either spoken or written, we all have the power of conversation. We can all impress upon our friends the importance of these subjects, and try and induce them to attend public meetings, and do what they can towards enlightening the public mind upon Indian questions. We can take in Indian papers, in which we are sure to find these and similar subjects discussed. We can cultivate social relations with natives of India visiting Great Britain, and learn from them facts at first hand. By thus opening our eyes and ears to all sources of information about India, we shall realize the magnitude of its importance as an Imperial question, and be able to impart our convictions to others. By such easy and unobtrusive methods we can all take our share in a movement of which it is impossible at present to prophesy the ultimate benefits, and feel ourselves to be helping forward that truest and highest kind of Imperialism to which we all subscribe.

In conclusion I must mention one or two points which, although they might be objected to as only indirectly con-

nected with agricultural banks, nevertheless seem to me to be almost more important than the matter actually in issue, and undoubtedly originate from it. In Mr. Dupernex's excellent little book it is laid down that agricultural banks are to be managed by village panchayets. This can mean nothing less than reviving the old village institutions of India. Hostile critics of our rule would probably say that it has killed these old village institutions. An apologist might reasonably reply that these institutions were probably dormant in the anarchy in which we took over the country, but he would have to admit that our administration did not tend to keep them alive.

I think that everyone who thinks deeply on the subject must admit that in the resuscitation of the village commune lies the best chance of happiness and progress for the people of India. I had several interesting discussions as to whether these institutions did really exist in ancient India.

Caste panchayets certainly did exist from time immemorial; but was there ever such a thing as a general village panchayet, representative of the community in general, and the authority of which every individual would recognise? Whatever be the correct answer to this question, it is not surely too late to revive these institutions or create them where they do not exist.

Why should not the managing bodies of these banks eventually develop into general village panchayets? We may first regard them in their triple functions as managers of a co-operative credit society, an agricultural association, and a board for the decision of disputes between members of the village community.

On this last subject I must digress, in a few words. I must confess to a feeling of disappointment, on arrival in India, when I found that this decision of disputes by members of the new organization was still in the list of things to be hoped for. But here again we must not be in too great a hurry. We must wait until the members

have gained the confidence of the people, and, reciprocally, until suitors have gained the confidence of those who are going to arbitrate in their disputes. I have long held the opinion that the pernicious warfare of the courts which the Pax Britannica has substituted for the more manly arbitrament of the sword is one of the principal causes of the impoverishment of India. I have waited for many years in the apparently vain hope of directing attention to the necessity of preventing the people from ruining themselves by litigation.

I need, therefore, scarcely enlarge on the joy with which I received the announcement that the bank committees were to act as arbitrators in village disputes. But we must always remember that the best men will have nothing to do with arbitration unless they are convinced that parties to disputes will accept their decisions, and not be so ready with the calumnies about corrupt practices which rise too glibly to the lips of disappointed suitors at the present day; and we must allow time for these evils to be corrected before we can expect a large measure of success from this new arrangement.

I almost fear to incur the charge of megalomania in expatiating on the benefits which I anticipate for the country if we can revive the Indian village communal organization. This is the sort of local self-government which is really suitable to the country. We complain of the apathy of the people in making use of the opportunities for self-government which we have already accorded to them. Probably the truth is that the best men look upon our local self-government as a farce, and decline to act as puppets in the show. Those who, for their own ends, do accept seats on our Boards are apathetic for similar reasons. I suppose we are both right from our respective points of view. We must not be too hasty in our concessions of self-government, yet the motives which lead to the abstention we deplore ought really to command our respect.

But in acting as representatives of the people in institutions like those we are considering, the best men would have real and substantial functions to discharge, and would, it is to be hoped, rise to a perception of the enormous benefits they would be conferring on their countrymen by performing them.

I have already indicated how useful these panchayets might be in revenue and famine administration. But there is no limit to their usefulness in all matters which affect the inner life of the people. They might become the necessary intermediary between the rulers and the ruled, prevent friction, soften asperities, and so lead to mutual appreciation and co-operation for the good of the country.

To-day we wish to congratulate the authors of this scheme of co-operative credit for India on the ultimate, though tardy success of their labours in introducing the experiment.

Is it too much to hope that, with the unlimited possibilities before it, it may eventually lead to the revival or creation of a general system of village communal self-government? I have already enlarged on the unlimited benefits which might accrue to the people of India from the introduction of such a scheme.

Take the administration of justice alone: these village panchayets might develop into agencies for the decision of issues of fact by local inquiry. They might thus go far to purify our courts from the atmosphere of false evidence which hangs about them, and does much to neutralize the effect of that pure justice which the people value so highly. In the prevention of crime, and perhaps in its detection when committed, a village representative body might render service of untold value. The collective public opinion of the village, which I think may be said to be generally on the right side, could be utilized as an engine for suppressing obnoxious individuals. I think it is a fair general statement of the condition of humanity to say that one-third is generally good, one-third bad, and one-third



bad or good, according as it is treated. The object of all administration is obviously so to treat this debatable third that, by alliance with the good, it may render the evil section powerless. An organization of this kind—a communal body—representative of, and respected by, the entire community, would be the best way of bringing about this desirable result in rural India.

I must conclude with one word of caution. I do not say we must not be in a hurry—that is understood ; we must remember that no human action has a pure result but a complex one, in which good and evil will always be blended. Power in an Oriental country is nearly certain to be abused in whatever hands it is vested ; but when the hands that wield power are responsible to a definite constituency, risks are reduced to a minimum. If such an organization as has been indicated is started it will certainly require supervision, but functions bestowed can always be withdrawn from a community that abuses them. I venture to think, however, that such instances would be delightfully rare, and that, as a whole, we have here a solution of infinite promise of more than one question affecting our great dependency.

These concluding remarks might be objected to, as not directly connected with the subject under consideration ; but I would strongly deprecate such criticism, because I firmly believe that the revival of the village communal system (though it may also confer numerous collateral benefits) is undoubtedly the very best way of helping on agricultural banks.

## EDUCATION BY NEWSPAPER.

BY S. S. THORBURN.

SEVERAL months ago a paper was read before the East India Association upon the educational system in India.\* In the discussion which followed, I said that as Indian boys left school very young, and subsequently had none of the means enjoyed by their English contemporaries for after-school self-instruction, I thought the Government would be well advised were it to start cheap State-aided newspapers in every province, and thus give "young India" the opportunity, hitherto denied to it, of developing into good citizens of the Empire. Soon afterwards, at a meeting of the Council of the Association, I consented, with diffidence, to expand my idea into a paper. I have found the task difficult from want of material and the very limited extent of my own knowledge. Having had during my Indian service nothing to do with newspapers, and very little with education, to agree to give a lecture on "Education by Newspaper" was a rash undertaking. However, my shortcomings will, perhaps, give rise to a useful and interesting discussion.

If you examine an educational map of India coloured according to the degree of progress in each locality, you will observe that the maritime districts throughout the whole three thousand and odd miles of sea-board are shaded deepest, whilst inland the shading is progressively lighter, until in the parts farthest from the sea there is little or no colouring at all. Naturally, the intensest shades, whether the map represents percentages of boys, girls, or both, or the institutions be primary, secondary, or collegiate, is in the neighbourhood of the great cities of the Empire, which are also the seats of Government—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon. Speaking generally, the leavening

\* See our January number, p. 1.

advance of education is most satisfactory in Bengal, Southern Madras, Bombay—particularly Gujerat—and in a sense Burmah, whilst it is slowest in native States, the North-West and Central Provinces.

Lumping together the four divisions of educational institutions—namely, infant or “rote” schools; elementary or lower primary schools, in which the three R’s are taught; secondary schools, in which boys are prepared for a clerical start in life, or for what is called “higher education”; and, lastly, colleges in which the students read for degrees, rather more than 10 per cent. of the youth of India of a school-going age undergo some sort of instruction. Excluding girls and “rote” schools, some three and a half millions of boys are at school and college. Six-sevenths of these numbers begin and end their instruction in the elementary grades, and may therefore be eliminated from the account. There remains a balance of about half a million who continue their education in the secondary institutions and colleges. To them may be added those who are taught in ways outside the supervision of the Education Department. The grand total is nearly 600,000, or 1 in 400 of the population. That is roughly the number of boys in British India who are being seriously educated at one time. About two-thirds of them learn English, the others continuing their studies in the vernacular alone. Roundly, 16,000 go up each year for matriculation, and about 6,000 pass. If we take fourteen to fifteen as the age at which most boys in the secondary stage leave school for good, it is evident that they enter upon the struggle for a clerical livelihood indifferently equipped for it, and with at best a glimmering of their duties as citizens. The same remark applies to the 10,000 youths who, having finished their secondary course, fail to matriculate—“read up to entrance,” as they pitifully call it when petitioning for an appointment. Of the more studious or better circumstanced 6,000 who do matriculate, two-thirds content themselves with success in the intermediate examinations.

The number of B.A.'s and B.S.'s annually turned out averaged in the last quinquennium about 1,500, and of M.A.'s under 200. When the next quinquennial report, now due, is published, the figures all round will probably show a considerable increase, for, although the market value of a youth moderately acquainted with English or even holding a degree is not high, the numbers of those who live by the pen are steadily growing. As a consequence the Government is exacting a progressively higher standard of attainments from its new servants whilst maintaining the old scale of pay, and is sometimes, in spite of the increasing cost of living, even cutting down salaries.

Thus, Indian boys who annually seek to turn their scholarship into a means of independence may be grouped under three heads: (1) Graduates—viz., 1,700 M.A.'s and B.A.'s. (2) Undergraduates who just fall short of the B.A. standard, and those who only "read up to entrance"—in all 14,300. (3) Roundly, 20 per cent. of those whose education is broken off at some point in their secondary course. The grand annual total cannot be less than 90,000. Their best or most energetic members form India's men of light and leading in their generation. The great majority of them belong to the comparatively small urban population—for as yet the rural masses have little concern with serious education—and naturally prefer service under the Civil Government to any other employment. As well as I can estimate, the number of civil appointments held by Indians under the Government, carrying emoluments of £20 a year and upwards, averages 6,000 per province, which gives for the eight divisions of British India nearly 50,000 such posts. Taking twenty years as the average length of a man's service, the number of annual vacancies would be only 2,500, or, roundly, one per forty candidates. If so, the great bulk of the educated candidates for Government employment must struggle for positions worth less than £20 a year; in point of fact, they eagerly accept clerical posts no better paid than are the *sepoy*s of our army.

Failing a civil appointment of some kind, numbers fall back upon the law, which gives a competence to a few, and a bare subsistence to many, but cannot in all its branches, down to the lawyer's tout, provide a living wage for the crowds who seek it. Lawyers are a product of our own creation, the best of them necessary, perhaps, under the complicated legal system which we have inflicted upon rural India, the worst of them—and the inefficients largely outnumber the efficient—nuisances for the courts and calamities for the simpletons who employ them. Though possibly in time matters may adjust themselves—the bulk of the educated youth of India finding livelihoods in wholesome callings outside Government employment and the law—it is certain that for many years to come one or other of those two lines of life will continue to be the immediate goal and object of parents and schoolboys alike.

Summarizing results, I would ask acceptance of the following propositions :

1. So far education higher than elementary is almost confined to town-dwellers, the people of India—the agriculturists and their dependents—almost standing still in their ignorance.
2. The educated product, poor and necessitous, is cast upon the world at an age when instruction is only beginning to expand the mind from a memory-promoter into a thinking machine.
3. Unfit for agricultural pursuits—indeed, incapable of grasping what is meant by the phrase “the dignity of labour”—the fledgeling from school takes any sort of clerical work that gives a subsistence, by preference a something in a Government office, failing that the law.
4. As openings in both are few compared with the numbers seeking them, the majority of the partially educated young Indians have to find other means of living.

If I am right, the conclusion seems to me irresistible that our educational system, as it operates, cannot tend to make its products contented with their lot. It suddenly drops

them with their awakened faculties in chaos. Whether they mature into good or bad citizens of the Empire is left, so far as the Government is concerned, to chance. "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing," and the little they have is enough to give them inflated ideas of their own value. Thus "young India" starts in life with a grievance—Why did the Government educate him on Western lines if the end of it was to be a full brain and an empty stomach? Whether he obtains a clerkship or other post under the Government or not, he now reads little but the cheapest of the vernacular newspapers. Such literature is in no country wholesome reading for the young and undiscerning. In India it does more harm than in any of the less conservative but self-governing communities of the world.

Information concerning the newspapers of India is treated as confidential by the Government, hence I can only generalize from statements in books and papers, personal knowledge, and the meagre official pronouncements which are published. I speak under correction, but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, about 600 newspapers are published annually in India, the great majority being in one of the eight chief vernaculars, the few in English. As a rule the attitude of the Indian-edited newspapers, when discussing other than domestic affairs, is moderate and pro-English, a fact due, perhaps, to the ignorant detachment of the editors and their dependence on the English press. In home matters they have some first-hand knowledge, and, being most of them pro-educated-Indians, are in a sense anti-English. Further, though to the majority rural India, being illiterate and inarticulate, is almost a negligible quantity, they comprehend the stagnant bucolic mind sufficiently to make capital out of the collisions of sentiment, unfortunate incidents, and public scandals which sometimes occur and contribute to widen the gulf between English and Indians. As instances of the three classes of subjects in the order given may be mentioned the conflict between English and Indian views as to segregation against plague,

shooting affrays between British soldiers and Indian villagers, and miscarriages of justice due to wholesale perjury owing to class partisanship.

Another group of subjects which give Indian editors opportunity for misrepresenting English aims and actions is that arising from what may be called our forcing-house system of administration—India being too elaborately and expensively governed on Western lines, and Englishmen enjoying a monopoly of all the highest-paid appointments, a few judgeships excepted. In strength of language and downright malevolence I doubt whether the utterances of what may be called the most patriotic of the pro-Indian journals have ever equalled those of the Nationalist organs of Ireland. The philippics against the methods of the Bombay Government in dealing with the plague epidemic excited the fears and resentment of all Indians, but the newspaper leaders and letters, which the Government of India held to be seditious, would probably have been regarded by Irish patriots as respectful if not obsequious. Such writings, however, were sufficient to pervert the minds of millions, and for a week changed law-abiding citizens into frenzied ruffians, as evidenced by the Bombay riots and the murder of English officers at Poonah. What may be overlooked as frothy extravagance in England is dangerous incitement to violence in India. In England the war of speech ends in speech, or in an action for slander, but in India it would end in insurrection. The recognition of this fact induced the Government of India, soon after the Bombay riots, to strengthen the law of sedition, since which time the native press has been more guarded, and the Government more cautious to consult local sentiment in its plague policy.

In England to own a great daily implies the possession of capital, and the return is generally handsome. In India, with the exception of eight or ten English and two or three Indian newspapers, the reverse is the case. Indigenous Indian newspapers pay badly, as their circulation is

not large and their readers are mostly poor. In the infrequent case of the proprietor being a rich man, he is seldom liberal to his staff.

On the whole, it may be said of Indians editing papers, that the majority are men of small experience, and, though clever and ambitious, are already soured against the British Government ; further, that, as little that is done by the Government or by British officials is so transparently right as not to be susceptible to misconstruction or adverse criticism, such editors, to the small extent of their knowledge, inculcate a good deal of error, and are more prone to indulge in hostile than favourable comments. There are, of course, exceptions, for amongst the editors may be found men of high literary attainments, who, with larger knowledge and less ignorant readers, would be fit to create, shape, and guide public opinion to a sound appreciation of the good intentions which actuate the Administration. But such men are rare, are mostly to be found in Presidency cities, and some of them are so straitened pecuniarily that, viewing the monopoly of highly-paid appointments enjoyed by Englishmen, their minds are sometimes appreciably embittered against the Government.

As regards editorial sources of information and the discussion of domestic affairs, all Indian journalists, Englishmen as well as Indians, suffer from disabilities. The fineness of the border-line between what is innocent criticism and a criminal offence now constrains the conductors of newspapers—particularly Indians—to hold themselves in leash. The fear of being prosecuted for seditious writing is ever before the mind's eye, hence the more timid prefer silence or platitudes to incisive criticism. In England the party system of government is reflected in the press, and the interest of the partisan dailies largely depends on the thrust-and-parry going on in their columns in leaders and letters. All this is impossible in India. There is no Opposition in India. The people are inarticulate, the mouths of those who know are muzzled, and as the official veil is



always impenetrable—except for scraps of information, generally of small importance, communicated to a few favoured English newspapers—the true inwardness of acts and measures has to be guessed. As a consequence it is not easy for the Indian press to publish timely news or deal usefully with subjects connected with the administration of the country. Anything official that is published in a *Government Gazette*—a weekly almost unknown outside official circles—is rarely self-explanatory, being as a rule the bald outcome of prolonged discussion between Government officers. The individual views and representations of such officers, who are, in fact, the sole repositories of authentic information, rarely appear in any form accessible to the public. So careful is the Government now that its officers shall have no connection with the press, that a sort of espionage is maintained over them, and those suspected of writing to or for the press—unless men of great powers or regarded as holding briefs for the Government—are seriously handicapped against success in their careers. The latest rule on the subject, published in 1898, forbids “any officer to convey to the public, whether in writing or in a speech or otherwise, any opinion upon matters of Government policy, which are, or are likely to become, the subject of public discussion.” Cut off from accurate information, unable to pay adequately for news, dependent for much of it upon the English press, and incapable of assimilating what appears therein, the average Indian editor fills half his columns with the gossip of *pie-a-line* correspondents, and the other half with comments, extracts, and other information, dressed up in the way which experience and the supposed tastes of his readers or his personal bias may dictate.

At best, then, the Indian-edited press of India is unsuitable as the after-school trainer in good citizenship of the immature products of our educational system. It may be urged that, if the press does little good, its powers of evil are small, the masses being illiterate and careless of

things beyond their next meal and the payment of their next revenue instalment. Such an idea assumes, I think, too much.

Though the literate in India are under 3 per cent. of the population—and two-thirds of that percentage are only occasional readers of newspapers—it is certain that statements on domestic questions of public interest made in the Indian press speedily penetrate to the remotest and most unsophisticated parts of rural India.

Every village, every land-holding class in every village, has a club-house or place of gossip, where the news of the day is retailed and discussed. Ordinarily the people are indifferent to happenings outside their home-life, and take little interest in any question until its decision affects them personally. They have a suspicious confidence in their white Sarkar. They credit "the mad Sahib-logue," as we are sometimes called, with good intentions, but they know from experience that the Sarkar, instead of leaving them alone, is always devising something new, that what is new is troublesome and costly, and that it is always they who have to find the rupees. When they hear, for instance, that a new cess or inquisitorial sanitary device is proposed, they reflect that the Sarkar often talks and thinks for years, and eventually does nothing, so the subject fails to stir them. What they want is news of the bursting of the monsoon, which if good would give them the means to fill their bellies, pay the interest on their borrowings, and the coming revenue demand; and, if bad, they expect the Sarkar to feed them, and some day to remit their arrears of revenue and wipe out their debts. That, I think, is their usual frame of mind towards the Government and its "many inventions." Rural India only thinks when it feels. It has no opinion until after the event, until after the new law or rule has been applied and felt. This incapacity for forethought imparts to every reform measure the character of a "leap in the dark," and to some extent explains the Government's disinclination to attempt the correction of

admitted mistakes in our system. "Educated Punjab" did its best to rouse "rural Punjab" against the recent land-law reform legislation there, but failed to light a spark of interest in it amongst the peasantry. Now after the event, when they find their credit curtailed and the market value of their fields depreciated, they are beginning to puzzle over the new departure. The same has been the case in Bombay, though the Bombay agitators were, I believe, supported by a petition to Parliament from the Indian community in London. When, however, the popular mind begins to feel, it now responds more readily and more collectively to outside influences than, say, a generation ago. Newspapers, education, railways, are slowly awakening and quickening its intelligence.

"Young India" grows apace in knowledge and numbers, and those whose incomes are less than their self-assumed merits, or nothing at all, infect others with their dissatisfaction, and every discontented educated man, especially if he lives up-country, exercises some influence for evil. Outside the law there is little for such men, and even inside thousands make a bare subsistence: Many an Indian who writes "Barrister-at-Law" after his name, though he placard his qualifications, including "Lincoln's Inn," in large letters, has to pocket his pride, and accept a fee of one or two rupees or starve. Many a B.A. has now to start in life as a village-school teacher, accountant, or even petition-writer on twenty rupees a month, with small prospect of ever doubling his pittance. Tens of thousands of youths, who have plodded successfully through the secondary schools, and not a few B.A.'s as well, are glad of a post under Government at a salary at which in this country a scullery-maid of sixteen would turn up her nose, though, plus board and lodging, she costs her mistress £30 a year in addition to her wages. The moving spirits amongst the educated, who fail to make a living, spread contagion morally as do plague-stricken rats physically.

No matter at what age an Indian boy ends his school or college career, he begins the business of life a mere babe in knowledge of the teaching in the strange text-books from which he has been acquiring a smattering of Western learning. Done with school he is done with education, just about the age when the minds of his English boy contemporaries are beginning to open to ideas of public duty. The whole environment of "our boys" in every walk in life tends to good citizenship, that of "young India" to bad citizenship in our sense of the term. Masses of Indian boys learn English very much as ours do French or German, but in after-life, perhaps, one in a score keeps up and improves his knowledge. The large majority revert to their own vernacular, and in it only read newspapers and translations of trashy and often demoralizing English books. This generalization applies certainly to Northern India. To what extent it is true for Lower Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, I am not sure. I believe that in and about the Presidency cities the literary taste of a considerable minority is higher than elsewhere, religious, historical, metaphysical, and even poetic literature being often preferred to less inoffensive publications. For the majority I expect the differences throughout India—allowing for the idiosyncrasies of Hindus and Mohammedans—cannot be great.

Everywhere boys are thrown into the struggle for a subsistence too young; everywhere Government offices and individual officers—the chief sources of reliable information—are silent; everywhere the majority of the writers in the cheap press are badly informed, badly paid, and narrow patriots rather than whole-hearted approvers of their very restricted citizenship in the British Empire. Not only, I fear, will this unsatisfactory condition of things continue, but as the years go by it will grow worse. As competition becomes keener with the annually augmenting output from India's schools and colleges, the present impatience with the strait-waistcoat environment in which

"young India" thinks himself confined will increase. The demand "India for (educated?) Indians" will grow in volume, and the whole educational system will become discredited, because, instead of promoting loyalty to the Empire, it will be accused of scattering broadcast over the land crowds of needy malcontents, themselves perhaps politically impotent, but by reason of their "evil communications" capable to some extent of corrupting the minds of the uninformed, but occasionally impulsive, masses.

What, then, is the corrective? How is self-help to be taught? Where is the guide to good citizenship and "the whole duty of man" to be found? The Educational Department and its aspiring products, the youths who have "read up to entrance," and those who write B.A. after their names, think that one remedy lies in the extension of higher education. I fear were the Government to double its present expenditure on higher education without corresponding action in regard to appointments for Indians, there would be aggravation, not mitigation, of the symptoms described above. Further, it is questionable whether such expenditure would be justifiable. The great bulk of taxation in India falls on the comparatively indigent masses; hence, as theirs is the money applied by the State to education, theirs is the right that it be spent to their advantage. Hitherto the classes, who have made most use of our State-aided system of instruction, have contributed very little to the State expenditure, which has helped them to transfer a large part of the assets of the tax-paying masses into their own pockets. If collegiate education be improved and expanded at private expense, well and good; but the object sought, the making of good citizens, would not, I think, be thereby promoted. To advance in that direction, it would be necessary to largely increase the number of good appointments reserved for Indians. So long as education is merely regarded as a stepping-stone to Government employment there must be discontent amongst the educated. Catechize the boys

learning English in any school in India as to "man's chief end," and the reply will be, "The Government service." When, if ever, the system has been so amended as to succeed in teaching self-help, and instead of producing clerks, budding lawyers, and journalists, fits its products for making a start in life unaided by the Government in one or other of the professions, trades, and callings which are so fully represented in every town and large parish in England, then the masses will have a chance, and in that case the Government will be wise to double or treble its present expenditure—under a million and a half sterling, I understand, exclusive of the compulsory percentages contributed by district boards and municipalities.

We have, however, to deal with existing facts, and to remember that reform in any working system, even when the necessity for reform has been admitted, takes long years in accomplishment. Can, then, any feasible means be devised whereby there shall be after-school training towards good citizenship for educated Indians?

Whatever the scheme, it should be capable of speedily producing far-reaching consequences in the right direction, without in any appreciable degree adding to the burdens of the Indian taxpayers. I venture to hope that this object would be gained were the Government of each province to start and maintain, directly or by subsidy, a first-class daily newspaper, publishing it in the local vernacular or vernaculars, and selling it at a rate which would compare favourably with that of the cheapest journals now circulating. Even were the sale price so low as to cause, for a time at least, an annual loss for each province of a lakh of rupees, the outlay would, I submit, be productive, the return being considerable progress made in national education and the better understanding between the Government and the people. Of course, in each case it would be necessary that the editor should be the best man procurable, whether official or outsider, Englishman or Indian. The selection being confined to men of large

Indian experience, trusted not only by the Government, but known to and respected by the people, the salary should be a matter of minor consideration. The right man would be cheap at Rs. 3,000 a month.

Installed as editor, the Government and its officers would freely communicate with him, he publishing news and comments at his discretion in the manner which would best appeal to the minds of his readers. It is reasonable to expect that the circulation would grow to such an extent that, with the additional receipts from advertisements, the net loss on the undertaking, if any, would probably be soon reduced to an insignificant figure.

This proposal is rather a development from an old project than a novel idea. In the sixties the late Sir William Hunter advocated the establishment for Bengal of "a weekly official journal, furnishing literary matter and intelligence of the highest order." He pointed out—to again quote his words—how "the native interest has its organs, the Anglo-Indian interest has its organs, the Government has none. Indian rulers, in fact, labour under two sets of disadvantages, those which the French Government would experience without a *Moniteur*, and those which an English Ministry would experience without its organ of party to which it owes its devotion." The whole story is admirably told in Mr. Skrine's "Life of Sir William Hunter." We are there informed that Hunter never fully realized his project, but for a time was near success, for first the *Englishman* and then the *Observer* were under his direction, the exponents of the Government's views for Bengal. Since Hunter's day the *Pioneer*, sometimes nicknamed "the unofficial *Gazette of India*," has been regarded as the monopolist of official information, though, in point of fact, all the privileges it enjoys are as the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. In 1878, through Hunter's influence, a Press Commissioner (Mr., afterwards Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.) was appointed for India. The intention was, to use Mr. Skrine's words, that he

should be "charged with the duty of supplying newspapers with early and accurate information on public measures, and correcting misstatements and misapprehensions." Unfortunately, the arrangements, as carried out, gave little satisfaction, and before long the appointment of "Press Censor"—as the office was derisively called—was abolished.

Things to-day are pretty much as they were in the sixties, except that, owing to the subsequent passing of two "gagging Acts," the liberty or license of the press is more curtailed, and that, owing to the muzzling of officials by the order of 1898, to which reference has already been made, the Indian press generally has greater difficulty in obtaining early and reliable information.

Sir William Hunter's scheme was confined to newspapers published in English. The proposal made in this paper, that each provincial Government should publish a first-class vernacular daily, and sell it at popular prices, goes much farther.



## GAURIASHANKAR OF BHAVNAGAR, AN INDIAN MINISTER.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

IN this notice of an Indian statesman with whom in the midst of official dealings I contracted a lasting friendship, I feel that I am describing a type of man which is fast vanishing from the Indian scene. During the early part of Queen Victoria's reign, and in the older time before, British officers in the field and at the Courts of Native Princes found they had to negotiate with men of a purely Oriental training, untouched by English education or the transforming voyage to these shores. In this close contact with another race, some of our public servants developed the highest qualities of an Ambassador, a thorough knowledge of the language, and a sympathy with the people in their ideas. As an example of the men who laid the foundation of our power, let me cite an early colleague of Wellington, Colonel Sir Barry Close, with whom Sir James Mackintosh used to stay at Poona nearly a century ago. That philosophic judge found the soldier-statesman ready to argue the theory of Bishop Berkeley from the Vedanta point of view, both of them repelling the common arguments for a material world. Meeting one of the most learned men of the East, a Persian refugee from the Caspian Sea, Mackintosh soon lured him to tell the Persian view of Aristotle's cardinal virtues. But to carry on the talk the British gentlemen were obliged to send for Colonel Close, to avoid "being shipwrecked in their attempts to render metaphysical terms." Close, with his fluent and correct Persian, bridged the mental chasm between the Scotsman and the Moonshee. Yet this was only one of the talents which gave Colonel Close the high reputation which attended his honourable career. Mackintosh was struck by his qualities, and if I repeat his well-chosen words I would add that they

seem to me, in all respects but one, an apt estimate of the mind and temper of my Indian friend. "He is without accomplishment or show, plain, cautious, and with a degree of mildness that forms a singular contrast with the firmness, and even sternness, which he has shown on trying occasions. He has a calm understanding, wholly employed in practice, united to a strength of nerve, which qualifies him equally for a cautious or a vigorous policy." In all this I find a parallel. But when the journal goes on, "He is a very superior man, who might easily pass among common observers for a very common man," I recall the white-robed Brahman, courteous and composed, tranquil in speech and gesture, whose eyes, bright with intelligence, took a keener gleam, while his voice grew fervid as he argued to persuade or to convince, bringing, as the Persians say, the horse of eloquence to run on the plain of speech. He was never mistaken for an ordinary man, neither was his life passed in ordinary times. Like Colonel Close, he lived to become the go-between of Europeans and Natives; although, unlike the Colonel, he found no time, and perhaps had little desire, to study the language and literature of a race unlike his own. Gauriashankar was a Hindu in tastes and action, a Brahman follower of the Vedas from his beginning till his life's end. His career was passed in the remote peninsula of Kathiawad, a strange feudal region of Native Kings and Chieftains, where the Arabian Sea washes India's western coasts. In that warlike secluded country his best years were spent in action, chiefly in the State of Bhavnagar, where his name has long been a household word. At Bhavnagar he died in 1892 after retirement from worldly affairs in the evening of life, in a garden house outside the city walls. There for some years, through the medium of a famous Indian philosophy, he employed his time in preparing for the rest that remains.

When in 1805 his baby eyes first opened on this world of phenomena at the marine town of Gogo, they saw the modest dwelling, and grew familiar with the quiet, un-

changing religious life of the ordinary Brahman family that has no riches to boast of, but gets its living by learning and mental capacity. The Nâgar caste to which he belonged has for centuries shown much aptitude for political employ ; they often rise through lower grades to be the Ministers of States, the numerous principalities in those parts offering many careers. In those days the British Government was not the paramount Power there ; indeed, for some years after Gauriashankar's birth, Kathiawad was dominated more or less fitfully by the great Maratha Kings of Baroda and Poona. It was a land of misrule, of constant jealousies and frequent wars ; and the rulers were in as much need of astute advisers as were those of Germany and Italy under an older constitution of things. The sacred character of the Brahman, whether secular or religious, gave him the same title to respect, along with his learning, as the Bishops and clergy acquired in medieval Europe. The Mogul, as well as the British rulers of India, soon saw the advantage of using such a class ; and in Kathiawad, as in all other provinces, the Brahmans are relied upon to furnish a large number of our public servants. Gauriashankar, after getting such teaching in Gujerathi as the town afforded, secured a small official post at the age of seventeen.

In the intervening years we see the contrast between the quiet home where he grew up and the rude events and stirring changes outside. It is recorded that he lost his mother early, and this loss would be deeply felt in the Hindu home. But between the boy and the father there is usually tender affection ; they join in the same holy rites at the household shrine, the temple, the river, and the sea ; and the strong feelings of caste, which shut out other people and narrow the social intimacy, bind tighter the members of the same family. One Nagar Brahman is always ready to help another, like as those eminent Scoto-Indians in the direction of the East India Company or the Board of Control took the trouble to supply their neighbours' sons

with appointments in India. Gauriashankar availed himself of the same sort of influence at home.

The circumstances of those times are worthy of more than passing mention. The Hindu religion, rooted in deep philosophy, spread its constant influence over conception, birth, marriage and death, embracing, too, all that we mean by domestic manners. But the Hindu, while rigid in conduct, may be free in thought; he can choose a philosophy, though his ritual is an heirloom. Kathiawad has for ages been renowned for holy shrines, built at places where Krishna, the popular god, had been; and one meets every day with pilgrims from all parts of India. As the boy rode in the bullock-cart or camped under a tree at sultry noon, he would see across the plain those lofty hills crowned with spires and towers whither the Jains go up to worship. He would be told of the older Buddhist commands, carved on the rock as long ago as the Emperor Asoka's reign. Sometimes there would come to the house those begging Brahmans, whose profound study of the Vedas, works in Sanskrit 3,000 or 4,000 years old, still astonishes all of us who meet them—wanderers who can repeat thousands of verses without a mistake of word or accent. Within hail near every town were the hereditary bards, keepers of genealogies, and those simple shepherds, the Charans, classes clothed with religious respect because in that world of misrule and raiding they became sureties for the chieftains' borrowings and solemn promises, and devoted themselves or their children to death when the powerful head of a clan refused to perform what he had sworn to do.

In the world outside the boom of cannon was never quite silent. In 1805 the Maratha army and the Bhavnagar garrison exchanged shots for ten days. The city, begun in 1723, and the territory round, had in the decay of the Mogul Empire been made into a State by Rajpoot leaders, partly at the expense of weaker Princes, partly by suppressing the pirates who roamed the coast, this last work being undertaken in alliance with the British, eager for

commerce, by the reigning chief, Wakat Sing, whose feudal obligations to the Gaekwar King of Baroda were amicably acquired by us in 1807. Our Envoy, Colonel A. Walker, describes him as ambitious and prudent, employing indifferently force, intrigues, and artifice to increase his power. Ever since those days Bhavnagar has continued to flourish, undisturbed except by private war. Before then the peninsula was invaded year by year by the Gaekwar's army, sent to collect the tribute from the many petty States, in the time of harvest. The chiefs living in their forts were ready to resist and earnest in haggling. When the Baroda general grew impatient, he let loose his Pindaree horsemen to plunder the open country and burn the villages. Colonel Walker induced the Gaekwar and his feudatories to consent to fixed cash payments, guaranteed by the hereditary poets and others, and a new era of peace began slowly to dawn. In 1820 we obtained by treaty the suzerain rights of the Gaekwar, and two years later established a British Residency. From all this it will be seen that Gauriashankar's birth coincides in date with the modest beginning of the new and soon paramount influence of the East India Company. For many years our policy was to leave these States to themselves in home affairs, which, as well as all transactions with the British, are usually left to the Karbharee or Dewan, words best translated as Prime Minister or Chancellor. Gauriashankar rose to this rank in 1847. From a report by Captain Le Grand Jacob five years before, we learn that the people of Kathiawad got along without civil or criminal law, each caste managing its own affairs. Capital punishment was almost unknown. Few chiefs could read or write. Learned Brahmans were rare, so were books. While private war still went on, the Rajpoot warriors were settling down, and the Kattees had left off their raiding of cattle, though we are told many Kattees were yet living who had stuck their spears into the gates of Ahmedabad. This northern or Scythian race, blue or gray eyed, who fight with spear and shield, whose god is the sun, of which a

rude picture is drawn on every deed as the head of living witnesses, were still a terror to the countryside. "A few tall trees are preserved near the village, or a lofty tower erected in the centre, in which a man keeps watch and gives timely notice of the approach of horsemen by beating a tom-tom or small drum." At the gateway even now the traveller riding by often notices rudely sculptured tombstones, inscribed with the name of some Charan man submitting to be speared by a horseman of his tribe, or of some Charan woman who allowed her throat to be cut so that the curse so incurred might compel the Kattee marauders to leave the village cattle in peace or restore what they had taken. Early in his career Gauriashankar had to deal with a powerful clan of these men, who, after ravaging whole districts, baffled military pursuit by retreating to the lion-haunted, feverish forest called the Gir. Having myself had, as a Warden of the Marches among these Indian lords, to follow up bands of mounted men over wide tracts of country, I can bear witness to the difficulty of upholding law and order. The outlaws have all the local knowledge, the quick wits, and the understanding of horses, of a De Wet. They know the wild lairs and the friendly shelters; unused to commissariat, man and horse carry food and fodder on their backs, and are less easily tired than our regular cavalry. Generally safe from informers, spies are of little use to catch them. At length, by enforcing local responsibility and other systems of suretyship against these men, Gauriashankar, after some years, got hold of the leaders and the revolt was quelled. Such affairs test the ability of a native officer in the use of both force and craft. The Chief of Bhavnagar soon employed him in a very different sphere, in litigious business before the Company's courts and the Governor of Bombay. The results were that the Chief was recognised as a semi-independent Prince; his liability to be sued as a mere subject was abolished, and his capital city and the villages round were treated as territory under his own sovereignty. Events like these naturally turned all eyes on the rising Minister. The British officials

had learned to esteem and respect him, and so in course of time, with their aid, he got rid, by a cash-payment, of some vexatious suzerain claims of the Nawab of Junagadh, and ousted from the territory a proud Arab commander of troops who had marched against the Chief to the gates of the city.

While some would claim such a character as Gauriashankar's as created by the Durbar, the princely system, others are inclined to refer it to contact with the British. I am informed by the English gentleman who knew him best that devotion to the State of Bhavnagar was the leading principle of his life ; yet that does not imply that he gave in to all the wishes of the five Chiefs he served. He firmly and constantly, and in the end successfully, opposed one of them, who, under the influence of a favourite wife, wanted to dismember the State by granting whole counties away to two younger sons. It is true that the Minister always, both before and after the Indian Mutiny, kept to the policy of being on the best of terms with the British Government ; but none the less did he dissuade British officers from pushing their improvements too soon or too strongly on a backward, warlike, conservative province of the Empire. Those of us who have been Political Agents in Native States will know what I mean. The Political Agent and the sagacious Minister have this duty in common : they have to be buffers between the British Sirkar and the State, to wink at many things old-fashioned, and to advise that we may often do to-morrow what cannot easily or safely be tried to-day. The Bhavnagar Minister did not venture on all progress at once. He started schools in 1856, and soon got as far as female education. He spent money on public works and the planting of trees. The oversight of courts and police was part of the daily routine. As time went on Bhavnagar became a happy country and progress was visible. When the Chief died in 1870, he confided his young son to Gauriashankar's care, writing in his will : " I attribute the present good condition of my State entirely to him, and have full faith that he will take great interest in its future welfare." The time had

now come for new developments, and, with a sagacity of which Machiavelli would have approved, the Minister was ready to adapt himself to them. He was heard in the councils of the Bombay Government, which then decided to make the experiment of entrusting the Bhavnagar State to a regency, composed of Gauriashankar and a member of the Civil Service. In Mr. E. H. Percival was found a man of many experiences, whose cool judgment and even temper fitted him for a novel position, requiring tact as well as training. In that period the revenue system was overhauled and put on a better economic basis. The bare plains were planted with forests; water-supply, markets, high schools, came into being; while the old traditionary policy of Wakat Sing to make the ports into marts of trade was pushed on, till the wondering crowds assembled round the trains on the first railway of the Kathiawad system. All the time a continuity of men and measures was kept up under the cheap and simple methods of a Native State, to avoid any breaking with the past, or any need to put back the clock, when the young Chief might leave the college to resume the powers entrusted to the Joint Regents. It is matter of history that the experiment of joint administration, the marriage of two minds, European and Oriental, was in all ways a success, and the credit must be shared between them. The Chief and his Minister were rewarded with the favours of the Crown; and after waiting awhile to guide his young ward in affairs of State, Gauriashankar, feeling that his day was far spent, thought the hour had come when he might worthily retire. For the twice-born Brahman, disciplined by study of the Vedas, the sacred law ordains that when the hair turns gray, or when a man has seen his son's child, he should leave the world and home to dwell in the forest, in company with the gentle deer, "pondering God's mysteries untold, and tranquil as the glacier snows." A still deeper seclusion follows when the hermit, freed from religious ritual, becomes an ascetic, giving himself up to the Divine



philosophy. Such putting away of worldly ambitions is rare even in India in these changed times, and we cannot wonder that some of Gauriashankar's European friends sought to dissuade him by the arguments of our Christian ethics. But these kindly-meant efforts were in vain. In early years the lofty sentiment which pervades the Bhagavad Gita had turned his mind to the Vedanta, a system older than Christianity, and which arose out of the Upanishads, and has become the common spiritual property of all India. Professor Max Müller, who has dealt with the final stages of this Indian statesman's career, has explained its abstruse doctrines. It predicates one infinite universal being or Godhead, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever ; the only real or true substance in either the universe or the mind of man ; the only part that survives in our being at the emptying out of each constituent at what we call death. What the senses tell us is mere phenomena or appearances, behind which is the real world or Godhead. In calm retreats and silent shades the anchorite seeks to escape from the net of illusion, and to live in God alone. In our own noble literature we come across similar musings. The devout Addison, "walking about sunset," thinks of the old philosopher who imagines Deity as a Being whose centre is everywhere and His circumference nowhere : "His substance is within the substance of every being, whether material or immaterial." Archbishop Leighton, starting from the funeral text, "Every man walketh in a vain show," preaches : "He walks in an image, as the Hebrew word is, converses with things that have no reality, and he himself has as little." It is high time to wake up to the fact, says he, "for the day of life is very short, and the art of Christianity is long." The gallant Essex confides to Queen Elizabeth his desire to abide in some unhaunted desert

"ever to give God praise,  
Content with hips and haws and bramble berry ;  
In contemplation spending all his days,  
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry."

Here we have an English rendering of the Sanskrit text about pure diet of fruit and a bed of stones for the hermit. Gauriashankar retired to a house outside the city walls, shaded with trees, and remained there after he received admission into the holy order of Sanyasies. He spent above ten hours of the day in study and meditation on the Vedanta, varied with discussions and lectures given by the sages who came to visit him from the banks of the Ganges and the Himalayan snows. The old man willingly received any British officer or scholar who so desired, and at times the young Chief came to him for advice. At length he passed away amid the love and reverence of all, and his name remains a household word in the country he knew and served so well.

## PACIFIC PICTURES AND PROBLEMS.

BY A. MICHIE.

WHATEVER else may be thought of the works of Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, contraction of scope is decidedly not one of their characteristics. He thinks in oceans, as his quondam chief thought "in continents." Only Mr. Rhodes restricted his intromissions to a single division of the earth's surface, while Mr. Colquhoun recognises no boundary to his explorations between the Arctic and Antarctic Circles. His happy hunting-ground is the great habitable belt comprising the Torrid and the two Temperate Zones girdling the globe for a breadth of  $133^{\circ}$ . The area, fifty million square miles of land and water, surveyed by him constitutes the home of the human race. To synthesize so complex a subject as even the external, to say nothing of the internal, politics of this vast world, was a task worthy of a Hercules, and we can but express admiration at the measure of success attained by the writer in his recent book, "The Mastery of the Pacific."\*

Mr. Colquhoun's theme may be comprehensively defined as the eternal struggle of the nations. Since history became a science historians have delighted in depicting the secular warfare which has been at once the spring and the regulator of ethnic evolution, and more particularly in tracing the great drama of the rise and fall of the empires which left a literary history—those, namely, bordering the Mediterranean. For untold ages, and until the discovery of the New World, that sea basin was the focus of European civilization, its shores the theatre of national progress. The late Professor Seeley in his "Expansion of England" has shown how after Columbus the arena of international struggle extended, how the thalassic was succeeded by the oceanic age,

\* "The Mastery of the Pacific." London: Wm. Heinemann (18s. net), and New York: The Macmillan Company.

and the scene was shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, the stage on which the Titanic struggle between France and England was fought out in the eighteenth century. New discoveries, chiefly of gold mines, the rapid development of steam and electricity, with the resultant stimulation of such cosmic enterprises as the cutting of the Suez Canal, have in our days once more shifted the venue of international rivalry. The Pacific is now indicated as the probable arena of the world-battles of the twentieth century. If we are not mistaken, Mr. Colquhoun himself, when correspondent of the *Times* some twenty years ago, was one of the first to give coherent expression to this idea. Since then many things have happened to lend circumstantiality to the forecast. The growth of modern Japan, revealed as a war power in 1894, the new-born world-policy and strenuous ambitions of Germany, the Russian annexation of the coast territory of China, and last, if not least, the headlong plunge of the United States into the whirlpool of Asiatic empire, have marked successive stages in an orderly procession of events, all tending towards a climax of unprecedented competition, to put the case in its least contentious aspect.

To no nation do the exigencies of the new era appeal with greater urgency than to our own; to no other people are the issues of such vital consequence. It is with the laudable object of preparing the minds of his countrymen for the contest which he thinks impending on the Pacific shores that Mr. Colquhoun has, with much industry, gathered from every quarter all the available facts bearing on the conditions of the coming struggle. It is, indeed, a copious bill of fare which he presents to his reader, with dishes, dainty and otherwise, suited to every palate, and he would be a fastidious feeder who could not find on such a well-furnished table much to his taste. For it is not in the least necessary to adopt the author's conclusions in order to enjoy the narrative of facts which underlies them. Indeed, the impression the book leaves recalls faintly the

first crude reflection of the present writer when the "Origin of Species" was sprung upon the world, that the most ignorant and least philosophical reader could not fail to derive pleasure from the mass of interesting facts grouped in pictorial sequences.

Mr. Colquhoun sweeps with his search-light the coasts of Asia, Australasia, Polynesia and America, revealing to the reader a perfect museum of marvels. He drags the ocean with his net and brings to the surface an indiscriminate haul of its denizens, from the shark to the amœba. The work has not been achieved without evident collaboration, whereby it has richly benefited both in the text and in the graphic illustrations with which the volume is closely packed. Though the line of travel which forms the basis of the present work, and in which the author was accompanied by his wife, is not specifically indicated, the discerning reader will have little difficulty in tracing the outline of the voyage, by the vivacious first-hand descriptions interspersed throughout of places and peoples, manners and customs, dress and undress, of natives of the Eastern islands, picturesque touches which could only come from the hand of an acute and cultured woman. The book is profusely adorned with photos of savage scenes, and savage men, but being ignorant of ethnology, we are free to confess that for mere ocular enjoyment one pen-and-ink sketch of Mrs. Colquhoun's is worth the whole collection.

As an introduction to his political survey Mr. Colquhoun leads off with the summary of the history, traditions and migrations of the dark-skinned races, which are now distributed among the islands of the Pacific, and with scientific speculations as to the lie of the land in pre-historic and pre-archaic ages, before even the Pacific continents were broken up into the detached groups of islands which now exist. The striking differences in the plant and animal life of the various regions—between New Zealand and Australia for example, and between both of these and the neighbouring archipelagoes which are Asiatic in origin—

point irresistibly to the complete separation of these tracts of land from a period which Mr. Colquhoun can only indicate as the "dim, far-off ages of the past." Problems these of absorbing interest for the cosmic philosopher. More interesting, however, to the political student are the hints which Mr. Colquhoun has diligently collected of the migrations of man in these far-off ages. A people of white or Caucasian origin had swarmed off from South-Eastern Asia and settled on the islands of Polynesia, including New Zealand. These ancient and venturesome Polynesians seem to have succeeded to a still more ancient and a far more highly civilized race, who have left their mark in the durable form of stone buildings elaborately decorated with artistic designs, on Easter Island, standing in mid-ocean, 1,400 miles distant from the nearest land and from the coast of South America.

It would be impossible for us to condense a sketch, already condensed to the point of desiccation, of the movements of the numerous races which occupy the Pacific shores and islands, but we may at least draw this comforting assurance from Mr. Colquhoun's descriptions of the Polynesians, Melanesians, Indonesians, and Malays—that migration is one of the great laws of human progress; that our restless age differs in no essential from the unrecorded æons which preceded it; and that even the "Mastery of the Pacific" is an ethnic problem as old as the hills, older, indeed, than the present subdivisions of the earth's surface. We of the twentieth century are but obeying the impulses inherited from 10,000 generations, to become in our turn objects of archaic research to future races who may not even acknowledge us as ancestors.

The historical part—the "Story of the Pacific"—is told in nine brief pages wherein the discoveries and settlements of Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English during four hundred years are succinctly set forth. Then the author plunges at once into the question of the hour—the "United States in the Pacific."

At first sight the seizure of the Philippine Islands was as

blind and fatalistic a proceeding as any nation was ever committed to, but the under-currents of national policy cannot always be inferred from the surface foam of contemporary speech or writing. With limited variations nations, however unconsciously, follow their traditions, and their traditions are the indelible expression of their character and instinct. Mr. Colquhoun shows clearly that the United States have pursued an annexationist policy with unwavering persistency since the day when they became a nation. The acquisition of the Philippine Archipelago, therefore, fell into line with the whole trend of the expansion of the United States just as the acquisition of the Sandwich Islands had done. Mr. Colquhoun speaks of the Spanish-American War as the final act of a drama, the motive of which was the pressure for new markets. But why this should be final any more than previous acts during a hundred years is not explained; indeed, if it were to be so considered, Mr. Colquhoun's elaborate work would lose more than half its interest. There can, in fact, be no limit either to the ambition or the expansion of the United States, any more than that of Russia, until it meets with a barrier solid enough to resist the advance. Mr. Colquhoun takes as his starting-point a survey of the Pacific States of the Union—California, Oregon, and Washington—and in a few words shows how rapidly they have grown in wealth and population. Hawaii and the Philippines are now the stepping-stones across the Pacific, connecting the commerce of the United States with the populous empires of Asia. It is in these empires that obstacles to the territorial aggrandizement of the United States may be expected to be met with. America herself has been beforehand in meeting them by the enactment of penal laws against the free immigration of what are popularly described as the yellow races. How to deal with Chinese and Japanese traders, labourers and others, who cross the sea to seek their fortunes, as the Americans themselves are doing, is one of the questions which Mr. Colquhoun points out as

lying before the American Government, but he wisely refrains from offering any solution of a problem which touches the future welfare of the British colonies, even more than it does that of the United States. The Philippine Islands may provide a convenient stage on which the subject may be dealt with experimentally. To cite only one factor: the existing commerce of those islands owes so much to the Chinese settlers, who have centuries of peaceable and creditable occupation to show, that the American rulers will be hard put to it to devise an honourable pretext for the forcible expulsion of these honest traders.

Mr. Colquhoun's chapter on the Philippines and the Filipinos gives a short but interesting sketch of the various tribes of the aborigines and of the Spanish rule over them, which was to all intents and purposes the rule of the Church. This is painted in rather sombre colours by the writer, fully accounting, as he shows, for the various risings against the oppressors. Of the character of the régime which has superseded the corrupt rule of the priests Mr. Colquhoun is discreetly reticent.

The Americans, it is evident, have entered on their task of government with a magnificent equipment of ignorance—and American ignorance is not always a mere negative quality, but is apt to simulate omniscience—and they have been correspondingly bold in their measures for revolutionizing and regenerating the people of the islands. Genius may do much, and energy still more, but there are certain changes which can only be safely brought about gradually—which, indeed, cannot be “brought about” at all, but must be evolved. This lesson the enterprising Americans will no doubt learn in time, though at a terrible cost to the people they are drilling, if not also to themselves.

As to the effect on general international interests of the American establishments in the Pacific, Mr. Colquhoun, with all his care to avoid committing himself, seems here and there, like many other publicists, to take for granted that the commercial policy of the United States would be



a liberal one, more or less in harmony with that of Great Britain. In China, no doubt, the United States are in sympathy with the "open door," because they have there no immediate prospect of establishing exclusive privileges ; but if in countries under their own administration they were to countenance free trade, they would belie their whole history, which nations seldom do. Their first impulse in the Philippines was, in fact, to plant in the new and yet unconquered territory their own institutions, which, for want of any correcting experience, they deemed the highest product of political genius. It was like driving a Baldwin locomotive through a jungle trusting to the cow-catcher to break down the obstacles which only long and patient spade-work could remove. The American people, being as much enamoured of their anti-Chinese legislation as the Australasians themselves, are, as above stated, confronted with a Chinese population in the Philippines, which their political principles, the euphemism for political practices, require them to uproot. The same principles prescribe government by the ballot box to a race ludicrously unfit for the exercise of any such power. This obvious and admitted disability, however, was to be at once corrected by a flood of liberal book education pumped into a nation of tropical loungers, to whom work is repugnant ; but wiser counsels now prevail, as the facts of the situation have begun to be felt. Mr. Colquhoun, with an evident desire to say nothing but good of the American attempts at civilizing the Filipinos, is unable to conceal his opinion as an honest observer, that before undertaking a comprehensive system of education of the "little brown brother" it is the teachers themselves who need preliminary instruction in the conditions of the problem which they are attacking with such splendid audacity. These, however, are domestic questions which concern mainly the parties themselves.

Whatever success or failure may attend the American administration of the Philippine Islands, their mere presence there and the vital and material forces which they cannot

help introducing are enough to materially alter the existing status in the Pacific Ocean.

Having discussed the prospects of the United States in the Philippines and the Sandwich Islands, Mr. Colquhoun directs our attention to the position of the other Powers which are domiciled in and round the Pacific Ocean. The most important of these we are naturally inclined to consider to be our own empire, and the growth and consolidation of the new Australasia forms the subject of a very interesting chapter. After noticing briefly the discovery and slow settlement of these vast tracts of land, Mr. Colquhoun gives us a graphic sketch of their progress during the half-century succeeding the gold discoveries. The Australasian highlands being what is known as "White Man's Country," with the exception of the northern portions of Australia and British New Guinea, seems destined to be the home of new nations of British stock, a consummation to which recent events have contributed in the most effective manner. No limit can be set to the consequences of the Imperial feeling which has been roused into activity by the spontaneous co-operation of colonial and British forces in the late South African War. As a mere advertisement the cost in men and money of the various expeditions will probably prove in many ways reproductive. Where whole continents of land remain uninhabited the first desideratum one would say was population. There was a time, indeed, when the Australians themselves thought so, but a change has been creeping over public feeling on this subject since the "working man" began to realize his power over legislation. Of late years it has been "Australia for the Australians"—that is, for those who happened to have landed in the country a few months before, and against all new-comers the door formerly opened was to be, as far as possible, closed. The Chinese, in particular, had been excluded by penal legislation, because they were industrious and frugal. Mr. Colquhoun touches with a light hand the clap-trap and wholly insincere and mutually contradictory objections to

the Chinese coolie, which prevailed among the demagogues in the colonies. While the vices of the Chinese shocking to the vestal purity of Melbourne and San Francisco are obscurely hinted at by speech and pen, it is his virtues that form the real gravamen of his offence. His crimes are thus neatly summed up in one sentence: "the Chinese pedlar makes his fortune by selling at a quarter the price that everyone else asks." If this be not an over-statement, it contains a suggestion of an economic discovery of no small significance. For our own part we should not be sorry to see a few thousand of such pedlars let loose as missionaries among our thriftless population. Such an inoculation of effective business methods might save the Empire! The prospect of peopling the vast tracts of Australasia, including of course New Zealand, with white stock is seriously blighted by the inveterate infertility of the colonists. Yet, while a constant stream of immigration is required to prevent decrease of numbers, it is towards the restriction of that reproductive stream that the short-sighted democracy begins to agitate.

Concurrently, and in seeming contradiction, with this suicidal form of protection, however, these nascent powers begin to develop a world policy of their own, in the formation of which two important steps have recently been taken. One is the loyal support of the mother country in warlike operations 6,000 miles from their own shores. The second is the colonial Federation into which the six Australian colonies were hurried by the pressure of external events working upon political aspirations, which would perhaps have been the better for a couple of decades more of gradual ripening. From this compact of Federation New Zealand has so far held aloof through fear apparently of its cherished individuality being merged in the larger partnership. The effect of the new advance towards coherent nationalism is already apparent in the influence which colonial opinion is unquestionably exercising on the policy of the Empire, and

as the immediate concern of these colonies lies in the South Pacific, the Imperial interest in those far-off regions will henceforth be instructed, not only by practical information, but by the influence of political and economical views which cannot be consigned to a pigeon-hole.

It is a far cry from the Antipodes to British Columbia, but the Canadian factor could not be wholly overlooked in a survey of the forces which operate on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and Mr. Colquhoun accordingly devotes a short chapter to the position of Canada in the oceanic struggle of the future. While giving an interesting sketch of the material progress of the Dominion, he pays a passing tribute to the excellence of the internal administration, especially of British Columbia.

Leaving the north-east bight of the Pacific, Mr. Colquhoun returns to notice some of the intermediate links which connect the northern with the southern oceanic regions. Of these the Straits Settlements and Hong-Kong are the most interesting, as hitherto they have been the most important strategical posts of Far Eastern commerce. This chapter affords the writer the opportunity of going a little deeper into the questions of the education of Asiatics, of ruling the Malays and the Chinese, of the Eurasian factor, and of the changes which are coming over the shipping interests in the Far East, which have eventuated in the recent colossal Atlantic Combine. The shipping question is the only one of these on which Mr. Colquhoun ventures on any distinct conclusion. He is clearly of opinion that the shipping combines are especially injurious to British interests, and he reflects upon the lack of patriotism of British shipowners, who thus part with their property to foreigners, grasping at present profits rather than aiming at permanent prosperity. He also intimates that the Government officials, with greater perspicacity than the commercial classes, have clearly pointed out the evils of the new development. It is easy, however, for publicists and officials to be thus critical of the

acts of members of the commercial community, but no law and no power of altruistic opinion will ever dissuade any business man from doing the best he can with his own property. High policy would ruin him, it might also ruin the Empire to which he belongs were merchants to get into the habit of sacrificing their gains for an idea, seeing that the national wealth is but the aggregate of that of individual citizens.

British North Borneo affords room for some very interesting personal sketches, as well as practical remarks on the improvement of the Chartered Company's possession. Railways, which are by the routine of popular thinking deemed the first desideratum in all new countries, whether inhabited or not, are not classed by this writer among the crying needs of North Borneo. The material prospects of the territory, however, Mr. Colquhoun considers to be good, though he regards the rule of the company as but an intermediate stage to the assumption of complete responsibility by the Imperial Government.

The Dutch East Indies is a subject which seems to exercise a perennial fascination for Far Eastern travellers. The very name of the Spice Islands has a garden of the Hesperides kind of sound, which is as pleasing to the ear as Mesopotamia itself. The natural luxuriance of the soil, the interests of the important and civilized native population, and the circumstances under which the territories were taken from and given back to the Dutch, impart to Java in particular a peculiar interest for British visitors. Its retrocession in 1813 was effected in one of those fits of absence of mind which, as Professor Seeley said, characterized the growth of the British Empire. It was the work of some clerk of the Foreign Office who pigeon-holed the despatches of Sir Stamford Raffles setting forth the value of the islands and urging His Majesty's Government to retain them—despatches which were exhumed a generation afterwards with their seals unbroken! The value of the islands to the Dutch is well known, for with them the relation of

the mother country to her tributary colonies is quite different from the British system. The administration received a warm commendation of that most generous observer, Dr. A. R. Wallace, who, however, explains that the good points in the Dutch system were adopted from the code elaborated by Sir Stamford Raffles during the British occupation. Its broad features are treatment of the natives, not nominally as slaves, but as children, having no rights, nothing to do with government, and entirely under the discipline of the white master. The success of the Dutch system is generally admitted, as the success of any government is in a country where there are no outbursts of sedition or discontent. The natives are kept poor by government regulations which deprive them of the means of purchasing injurious liquors or other demoralizing luxuries, and Mr. Colquhoun tells us the limitation has made the native happy. For "he has food, shelter, sunshine, leisure to play a drum or a bamboo flute, flowers to look at, and a numerous family growing up around him." Mr. Colquhoun's sketches of the life in the Dutch Islands are full of interest, for he describes what he saw conscientiously and with a kindly touch. The impression left on us is that though life may be tolerable in the Moluccas, it is not stimulating; it is always afternoon there.

But it would be impossible within the compass of an ordinary paper to do justice to the ethnological researches with which this Dutch chapter is full. How the ancient Javanese, the immigrant Hindoo, and the subsequent Malays have imposed their respective civilizations successively on the islands with the result of a certain admixture of them all in the natives to-day is set forth by Mr. Colquhoun with perhaps as great precision as the speculative nature of the subject admitted. The most interesting of the extant races appears to be the natives of the large and mountainous island of Sumatra, the western extremity of which constitutes the Mohammedan Sultanate of Achein, against which the Dutch have been waging

a war of subjugation for thirty years, without as yet being able to bring it within sight of a conclusion. It is assumed from the warlike capacity of the Acheinese that they have a strain of Arab blood in them. They were an important people in the days of our Queen Elizabeth, and the first English ambassadors to India were sent to the Court of Achein, with which good relations were maintained for three hundred years. The Sultan regarded it as an act savouring of bad faith on the part of Great Britain when by a treaty with Holland in 1872 he and his territories were bargained away to the Dutch for some equivalent in which he, of course, had no interest.

Concerning the Dutch system of governing their Indian possessions Mr. Colquhoun has some very pertinent observations. Following all preceding writers, he illustrates the Dutch method by contrasting it favourably with the English. The Dutch officials do not live apart from the natives: they freely intermarry, or at least interbreed, and allow to Eurasians a status of practical equality with themselves. Officials and others make their homes in Java, and gradually lose their attachment to the land of their birth. Living thus with the natives, they acquire a knowledge of their thoughts and ways which only a few exceptional men are able to do in British India. And whatever, therefore, their legal relationship may be, it is everywhere qualified by kindly personal rule.

The success which has undoubtedly attended the Government of Netherlands India is, however, conditioned by certain characteristics which could never be tolerated by any English-speaking race. The restrictions on foreign travel are only comparable to those in force in Russia. Propagandism and education are systematically discouraged, and the people are advisedly kept in a state of pupillage, and given no choice in their way of life. The effect of the whole is stagnation, perhaps the severest reproach which any modern society can incur. As a factor in the future mastery of the Pacific, therefore, the Dutch

islands might be considered a negligible quantity were it not for the contingency of their passing sooner or later into the possession of a Power greater and more progressive than Holland.

Naturally Japan occupies a place in Mr. Colquhoun's wide survey, though he does not accord it so much space as its comparative value might have warranted. Perhaps he thought this had already been adequately done by Mr. M. Mazaki in his "Japan and the Pacific." Yet in a few pages he is able to summarize in an intelligible manner the astonishing progress made by Japan in the production of material wealth, and in the technical, political, and social education of the country. When, however, he attempts to explain the present political position of Japan in a single paragraph, he loses, as might be expected, the sense of proportion in her relation to the other Powers, saying that in "her programme of reform and development she counted on the assistance of more than one of the Great Powers, and that she had been roughly disillusioned, seeing that the desire of Great Britain and the United States had been merely to push her into the gap." This dictum we must confess our inability to interpret. That Japan "has been forced to watch the gradual encroachments of Russia and Germany"—why not France also?—"upon China, and the disintegration of that empire," may be true enough, but it is not the whole truth, and to omit from such a concise summary the greatest of all aggressions ever made upon China, that of Japan herself, in 1894, is to distort the picture out of the semblance of reality.

Although deprived by superior force of her conquests on the mainland, Japan retained, as the fruit of her war upon China, the rich island of Formosa. This affords Mr. Colquhoun an excellent occasion for showing how the Japanese succeed in the character of colonists, his views on which are very instructive. Undoubtedly, as Mr. Colquhoun remarks, the weight of Japan in the balance of Powers bordering the Pacific has been much enhanced



by the addition of the great Chinese island to the Japanese archipelago.

The interests of Germany, France, and Russia are grouped together in a single chapter, which embraces an outline of the various acquisitions of Germany in the south seas, the appropriation of Kiao-chau, with its surrounding territory, on the mainland of China; the French possessions in Oceania and Indo-China; the Russian wave which has overwhelmed all Northern Asia, and the position of the Chinese people, whose numbers, with a modesty which is rare among our publicists, Mr. Colquhoun sets down at 320,000,000. The author has allowed himself too little space in this one chapter to embody his views with reasonable amplitude on the position of these four great Powers in the Pacific, and their relations with each other. He draws, however, some brief but interesting comparisons between the French and German methods of colonization, to neither of which does he accord the merit of success. The Germans, he says, fail because they consider colonists are made for the official and not the official for the colonists. The officials dragoon the traders as if they were military recruits. The French, he says, fail because their colonies are overrun by functionaries of a low type, short-sighted and visionary.

In his concluding chapter Mr. Colquhoun submits the data he has collected to the judgment of the intelligent reader, out of which we gather that in his own opinion the United States will be the dominant factor in the mastery of the Pacific. But what, after all, is the "mastery of the Pacific"?

## THE BRITISH COLONIES: THE SUGAR QUESTION.

BY R. G. CORBET.

SPEAKING broadly, the result of the Conference concluded at Brussels is that we undertake to give the same treatment to foreign beet-sugar as to the cane-sugar from our own colonies, receiving in return the assurance that certain European countries will abolish bounties, levy countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar, and keep their differential import tariff within specified bounds. The German Imperial Chancellor, when the matter came on for discussion in the Reichstag, especially combated the idea that the proceedings had concluded with a triumph for Great Britain, and maintained that the settlement arrived at would suffice to keep foreign sugars from German markets. The view that we have got the worst of the bargain is confirmed by no less an authority than Lord Pirbright, the President and British Plenipotentiary at the 1888 Sugar Convention, who finds fault with the countenance now given by us to the surtax—which he characterizes as “the most pernicious kind of bounty”—contends that the clause relating to it, however much it may serve French interests against those of Germany and Austria-Hungary, does little or nothing for our own, and considers it absurd on our part to give Spain, Italy and Sweden a free hand while tying ourselves down as regards the West Indies. The answer given him in the House of Peers by Lord Lansdowne, moreover, to the effect that it was only by means of concessions that we were able to obtain any agreement at all, is far from convincing, for it remains to be proved that we have no alternative but to approach our neighbours hat in hand, and that we must therefore be thankful if they condescend to give us half a loaf. There is every reason to believe, on the contrary,

that we should bring the Continent to its knees if only, like the United States, we were to impose countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar: especially if a Customs union, such as the self-governing colonies are asking for, enabled the Empire to act as a whole. But even granting that the Convention is the triumph which the Government asserts it to be, it will not, if ratified, be put in force till the beginning of September, 1903. The foreigner has secured a delay of nearly a year and a half before beginning the experiment supposed to save the West Indies, and bounty-fed sugar will complete their ruin meanwhile unless we at once afford them help. There has been a good deal of discussion as to the form this should take. Some proposed a money grant to producers, whilst others, on the score that anything resembling a subsidy might lead to countervailing duties on the part of the United States, preferred a loan; the latter forgetting that it is our policy of aiding and abetting Continental protection which has rendered the West Indies dependent upon the Republic, and that, if we put an end to the unfair competition to which we have subjected them in our market, they would no longer be forced to seek outlets elsewhere.

Another course not open to the objection that it would provoke hostile American action, and one which we are free to take as long as the Convention is not ratified, is that of ourselves imposing countervailing duties in the interval, thus affording our sugar industry prompt relief and giving our neighbours a foretaste of the remedy we might resort to if they were to draw back from the compromise we consented to at Brussels. Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Premier, pointed out, as far back as February, that such an impost would give the Chancellor of the Exchequer a large instalment of the money he must otherwise draw from British sources, and would be of incalculable benefit to our West Indian possessions, especially in view of the development of Cuba, who was expected shortly to monopolize the United States market; and if we have debarred ourselves

from resorting to countervailing duties after the summer of next year, we should at least take advantage of them while we may. It is in the name of Free Trade, be it observed, that we could do so. Mr. Chamberlain, replying to Sir H. Vincent, told the House of Commons that, in order to restore the sugar trade to its normal channels, "foreign and colonial sugar should be able to compete for the English market on equal terms." Now this, recently said Sir Nevile Lubbock, when summing up a discussion at the Royal Colonial Institute, is exactly what Great Britain hitherto would not allow. It "has absolutely refused to grant free trade to the West Indies in British markets. . . . The West Indian sugar producer has to pay a tax of £3 10s. per ton if he sends his sugar to England, but the German sugar producer pays no tax, the whole of the tax levied on his sugar being paid by his Government. That is not Free Trade. That is an inequality which the British Government has deliberately permitted for the last thirty years." Countervailing duties merely put an end to this inequality and involve our ceasing to connive at the protection of foreign producers, which, on the contrary, we have undertaken at Brussels to support. The Convention, indeed, states plainly that the object of the surtax is "efficaciously to protect" beet-growers in their own markets, and that it is to be raised whenever their monopoly is threatened. To quote a correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, the agreement "still establishes a protective duty of 2s. 6d. per cwt. for Continental producers, whilst in return Great Britain has undertaken to grant no preferential treatment to colonial sugar." Moreover, "under cover of the Continental import duty, it is still possible for the sugar ring to carry on operations. . . . It would cost a competitor about 6d. per cwt. to bring sugar into a Continental market to sell at a profit in competition with the home product, so that the protective duty is really established at 3s. per cwt. If the expenses of the ring be estimated at 1s. per cwt., there is left a margin of 2s. per

cwt. profit to be extracted from the home consumer. As, roughly speaking, Austria and Germany consume 1 cwt. of sugar to every 2 cwt. exported, it would still be possible for the ring to pay the exporter a private allowance of 8d. per cwt. without infringing any of the provisions of the Convention. On the other hand, the West Indies lose the preferential treatment accorded them in America [their best customer] since 1897." Such are the achievements of the Foreign Office!

There really appear to be no lengths to which the Government will not go in their desire to propitiate the Manchester School. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in particular, in spite of the large majority at his command, has always shown great timidity when dealing with even the most perverse interpretations of Cobdenism; and it was hardly to be expected that he would grapple with Continental protection—defended, wonderful to relate, by the secretary of the Cobden Club—in the interests of our fellow-subjects across the seas. When introducing the Budget, in fact, he preferred leaving them to fight an unequal battle, in which Great Britain throws her weight into their adversaries' scale, and flinging them a sum not amounting to "a quarter of a million—probably less," to be provided by the home tax-payer. In the ordinary course of things our producers have nothing to hope for save that our representatives at Brussels may have overreached themselves, and that their anxiety to conclude the Convention may embolden Continental legislatures, when the time for ratification comes, to hold out for even more favourable terms; in this case, it is said, the Ministry would retaliate by bringing forward countervailing duties.

Another straw at which they can catch is the attitude of Mr. Chamberlain. As he plainly told the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association in May, old ideas of trade and free competition have changed. The Empire, he holds, cannot meet the policy of bounties and subsidies whose object it is "to shut out this country as far as possible from

all profitable trade with foreign States, and at the same time to enable those foreign States to undersell us in British markets," by "adherence to economic pedantry, to old shibboleths." He recognises that the ties of interest are on all fours with the ties of sentiment and those of sympathy, and he fails to see the heinousness of a reciprocity treaty with our own children, when Cobden himself could make one with France. Unfortunately, to all seeming, the Colonial Secretary is the only member of the Cabinet who looks at things in this light.

Much light is thrown upon the position of the colonial sugar industry by Mr. Henry de Rosenbach Walker, who, in "*The West Indies and the Empire*,"\* gives the results of his investigations during a recent visit to the islands. Himself evidently a staunch supporter of Free Trade, he does not admit that it consists in giving undue advantages to our foreign competitors, or that a measure confined to restoring the balance would be any infringement of it; in other words, it is not a differential duty in favour of the colonies which he advocates, but a countervailing duty upon foreign sugar "exactly equal in amount to the bounty paid upon its exportation," and "limited in its duration to the time the bounty continued to be paid." Having made this plain, he at once grapples with the reasons adduced to justify the policy of drift hitherto pursued. The first he thus disposes of: "The answer to the current objection, that, unless the price of sugar were raised appreciably in England, no benefit would accrue to the West Indian, is that his business would be placed upon a stable footing, his calculations would be made upon an assured basis, and he would have no difficulty in securing additional capital for the extension and improvement of his undertaking." Mr. Walker next deals at greater length with the contention that the West Indies may be left to the tender mercies of bounty-giving Governmnets in view of the reduced Cuban output, and of the countervailing duties in the United States,

\* T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1901.

and after showing, with the aid of statistics, that this adventitious aid is not to be depended upon, speaks his mind as to the "culpable apathy" that desires "to see British colonies saved from ruin by the aid of a foreign country," and allows "some of our oldest colonies to sink lower and lower because we hesitate to impose countervailing duties upon European bounty-fed sugar, the only effective and economically sound remedy." With equal vigour does he attack the selfish plea that this remedy "would injuriously affect the much larger interests of consumers in the United Kingdom." It is not his purpose, he protests, to inquire to what extent the price of sugar in England might be raised; "some think not at all, except at the very first, others possibly by a halfpenny a pound." Be this as it may, he is indignant at the thought that we should barter the rights of our colonists as British citizens for a problematical money advantage to ourselves. "Is the British Empire," he exclaims, "to be run solely on the basis of £ s. d. ? . . . This is an absolutely crooked view of the problem. Unless we wish to throw off the responsibilities of Empire, we must place justice before alleged material expediency." It is our acting otherwise in the past that we may thank if the West Indies were obliged to repel Canadian advances towards closer commercial union, and if they viewed askance official efforts to obtain increased productivity in the cane; there was reason to fear that this might be neutralized by higher bounties, and be represented as weakening the claim to countervailing duties, whilst "it could have no effect in improving the credit of the industry, the lack of which is its greatest misfortune." Capitalists, on the other hand, would have been more inclined to find the money for central factories, indispensable to enable the industry to hold its own, if countervailing duties had been adopted; and their imposition, "while it would be the quickest as well as the wisest method of lessening the necessity for doles, would have the further recommendation that it would not pauperize those whom it had benefited."

Mr. Walker goes on to discuss at some length who they would be, and this is not the least valuable part of his statement.

The sugar problem is intimately connected with that of labour. This may be gathered from what the author of "The West Indies and the Empire" describes as the "authoritative conclusion" of the Royal Commissioners, that no other industry could completely replace sugar in such islands as Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts as a profitable cultivation, and so as to give employment for the labouring population, and that in most of the other colonies sugar may in time be replaced by other industries, but only after the lapse of a considerable period and at the cost of much displacement of labour and consequent suffering. No crop, it should be explained, requires so much field-work per acre as sugar, and whereas the preparation for the market of many other products entails little or no skilled labour, "in every sugar-factory there are several places filled by negroes which demand intelligence and a sense of responsibility." Another proof of Mr. Walker's contention that "the labouring population is fundamentally interested in the fate of the sugar industry" is that much of the land is not cultivated by indentured coolies, but by creoles and East India immigrants who prefer to work on their own plots and sell their canes to the factories. The failure of sugar, again, would lead to the departure of many whites with insufficient means to begin life afresh, to the detriment of the negroes, "who, as is admitted by their best friends, urgently require continued contact with a higher race," with the further consequence that, "as the purchasing power of the community would be smaller, imports would fall off, and the revenue, which is mainly derived from Customs duties, would . . . be entirely unequal to the demands made upon it." These gleanings from "The West Indies and the Empire," a book which should be read by all who take an interest in the colonies, may close with the explanation it gives of the effects of countervailing



duties, for which it is not claimed, in the first place, that they will by themselves save colonial sugar. Neither do they aim at creating a monopoly for it—a fact to be noted by Cobdenites—and no argument can therefore be brought against their efficacy because they have not shut out the European product from the American market, but have simply placed cane and beet sugar upon an equal footing there, thus enabling the former to hold its own. We can likewise, says Mr. Walker, “guarantee to our colonies an area of equitable competition; it will then rest with them (and I have no fear of the result) to increase the productivity of the cane” and adopt the newest and most economical machinery. Such an area they have found in the United States; are they to go on receiving more assistance from them than from what has proved their stepmother-country?

Since sordid motives have been adopted as the criterion in dealing with this question, let us ask ourselves whether the present policy will eventually pay. “West Indians,” says Sir Augustus Adderley, whose long acquaintance with them lends his words great weight, “are loyal and faithful subjects . . . but undoubtedly without that fostering care, which is now more necessary than ever in consequence of the unfair treatment to which they have lately been subjected, that loyalty may eventually be sapped. There are not wanting people—and, indeed, some who may be described as distinctly far-seeing—who, discontented with the manner in which the home Government is treating the West Indies, do not hesitate to express the opinion that were they under American rule they would be exceedingly benefited thereby.”\* But it is not the poor little islands that we have to fear; it is “Greater Britain,” whose parts are daily tending more and more to form an organic whole in which a wound inflicted upon any one will be felt by all. We should pause to consider the effect elsewhere before we sacrifice to selfish considerations and to our solicitude for

\* “British Empire Series,” vol. iii., p. 327.

the "most favoured" foreigner the welfare of our subjects in the Antilles. It is not yet too late to stretch forth a hand to free them from the bounties which, with our approval, oppress them so heavily; the Government have recently thrown away several opportunities of showing that our own flesh and blood is held dearer in this country than the alien who reviles us in return for our favours, but they might at least take advantage of that offered them by the coming conference of colonial Premiers, which should serve to open their eyes a little. They might do worse, meanwhile, than carefully study a very instructive sketch contributed to the *Morning Post* by Mr. H. F. Prevost Battersby, under the heading, "Blood Brotherhood, Federation of Hearts." One of the characters, an Australian trooper, puts the case thus: "You don't treat your brother same as the rest of the world, or a bit worse maybe; and you don't try to squeeze him in a deal, or let in an outsider to a soft thing in front of him; and if he does cost you a trifle, you remember he's your brother." Mr. Battersby's own comments, an extract or two from which may be given in conclusion, are equally plain; let us hope those whom they concern may take them to heart and act upon them. "What we gain at the cost of our brothers' confidence is not economy," he says; "it is blind, idle, ruinous expense." The soul of the nation lies in "the pride of home, and love of brother, and scorn of death" matured in South Africa: "will you kill these with niggard pettiness and thankless folly? Will you break this iron ring of Empire, which might be welded about the world, into lonely islands and resentful shores?"

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL WORKS—JUDAISM AND PALESTINE.

THE third volume of the "Encyclopædia Biblica," edited by Cheyne and Sutherland,\* has been published. This useful and remarkable publication deals, in the new volume, with subjects under the letters L to P.

The first volume of a third and fourth edition of the history of the Jews in the time of Jesus Christ by Schürer,† which it is needless to praise, has appeared. It is in a more complete form than the preceding (second) edition, containing a hundred more pages. A general index of the whole work will shortly complete this admirable publication.

The edition of the "Talmud of Babylon," by L. Goldschmidt, has been enriched by another part containing the first portion of the Sanhedrin treatise.‡

The tenth volume of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (third edition of Hauck), which has recently been published,§ contains several articles concerning Orientalism; it commences with the word *Kenonen sammlungen*, and ends with *Konstantin*.

The "Dictionnaire de la Bible," published by the Abbé Vigouroux, has reached its twentieth part (Italian versions of the Bible—Jerusalem).|| This work continues to be of great interest, not only as regards the text, but on account of its illustrations of a scientific character. It is curious to see in this work to what extent scientific independence on biblical ground reaches among Roman Catholic authors, and it is scarcely necessary to add that these are articles of pure Orientalism, which are amongst the best of this important collection.

The first volume has appeared of "The Jewish Encyclopædia," which is a descriptive record of the history, religion, literature, and customs of the Jewish people from the earliest times to the present day.¶ It begins with the word *Aach* and ends with *Apocalyptic Literature*. The names of its principal editors, Jastrow, Toy, etc., are a guarantee of the scientific manner in which the work has been conceived and brought out. I may mention some of the subjects—viz., *Accents, Alphabet, Aaron, Abraham, Alexander the Great, Ablution, Abraxas, Alexandrian Philosophy, Apocalyptic Literature*, etc. Some fine plates accompany the text (*Alphabet, Amulet*, etc.), besides a facsimile of a MS. of the Geniza of Cairo, etc. There is no

\* London, Adam and Charles Black, 1902.

† "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi," 1<sup>ter</sup> Band, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1902.

‡ Berlin, Calvary, 1902.

§ Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901.

|| Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1902.

¶ New York and London, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1901.

doubt that the work will be carried on with the same energy and success. It is noteworthy how, nowadays, biblical encyclopædias multiply among the most diverse religions (Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish). No doubt these works help to spread more and more the scientific knowledge of the Bible and all problems connected with it. With regard to these numerous publications the Arabists are not so well provided. When shall we see the great Musulman Encyclopædia, about which so much was said at the Congress of Orientalists at Paris in 1897, the want of which was greatly felt, and about which several notable Arabists occupied themselves, and of which nothing is now heard? "Belle Philis, on désespère alors qu'on espère toujours."

In the "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins (vol. xxiv., Part IV.)\* we must point out the interesting publication in facsimile of the map of Palestine, by Bernhard von Breitenbach, who went to the Holy Land in 1483. The map, which consists of no less than three plates, is accompanied by an instructive notice by R. Röhricht.

#### ISLAM—MOROCCO.

We desire to draw the attention of those of our readers who are interested in Islamism or Christianity to the well-written study by Gabrieli on "Jesus Christ in the Qūran."†

After having remarked that, whilst Muhammad was often calumniated and criticised by Christian authors, Jesus, on the contrary, has always been respected by the Musulmans and by Muhammad, whom they consider the greatest prophet before Him, Gabrieli shows, by quoting from texts, what the Qūran says of Jesus.

The author investigates the origin of the knowledge which Muhammad possessed of Jesus. He finds it first in the relations which Muhammad had during his journeys with Jews and Christians. But Muhammad only knew the person and teaching of Jesus through the medium of heretics, who were dispersed over, or had taken refuge in, Arabia, such as the Beryllidians, Collyridians, etc.; thus the errors into which he had fallen regarding the apparent death of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, the personality of the Trinity, etc. Muhammad also borrowed from the prophetic Gospels. Gabrieli has taken particular care in making evident the references of the Qūran with the apocryphas of the New Testament. As for the canonical Gospels, the one which appears to contain most references to the Qūran is that of Luke.

We congratulate the author on his skilful work. It is very necessary that a true and exact knowledge of Muhammad and the Qūran should be more diffused amongst the general public, so much untruth has been written about one and the other, and so many prejudices still exist against them!

Morocco is the country of the order of the day. A. Moulièras, Pro-

\* Leipzig, 1901.

† "Gesù Cristo nel Qorano" (dal Bessarione, *Rivista di studii orientali*, Anno V., vol. ix., fascicolo 55, 56), Rome, 1901.

fessor of the Arabic Chair in Oran, who was deputed by the French Government to proceed to Fez and study the organization of the University of that capital, has published an account of his journey,\* which will shortly be followed by another on the University of Fez. This book is an account of a journey in the form of a diary, and we will mention some important points of this very interesting study on the town where the Sultan at present resides.

Moulieras holds the same opinion regarding Moroccan politics, as I have set forth in the articles entitled "Morocco," which have appeared in this *Review*.† He considers that the time has arrived when Europe should exercise a protectorate over the country, and that France is the fittest Power to undertake it.

Fez, according to Moulieras, notwithstanding its ancient University, is a city of ignorance, as the whole of Morocco is an empire of barbarity and darkness. In this great capital there is but one ray of light, and that is the French school established in Mellah, the Jewish quarter, by the Alliance Israelite Universelle, whose headquarters are in Paris. Moulieras was naturally surprised at the results obtained in the Jewish school in Fez, where instruction is given after the method and programme of the primary schools of France. I cherished the very same admiration when visiting other schools belonging to this Jewish alliance in Morocco.

According to Moulieras, Fez is nothing but a sham "city of knowledge" (*madinat-ul-'ilm*), or, to quote his words, genuine scholars are as rare as the *edelweiss* at St. Louis in Senegal, as much as to say that there are no scholars in Fez. The interviews that the author had with several Professors of the Fez University confirm this view. He found among these Musulman doctors much conceit and pride, and not overburdened in respect to Musulman science.

Notwithstanding that the author's work is but a diary of his journey, the reader will find therein much information about the Musulman religion, the worship of saints, about saints in particular, and Moroccan Judaism, etc. What with his previous publications on Morocco ("Le Maroc inconnu"), and those which will eventually appear, Moulieras will have contributed largely to the formation of a contemporary library dealing with the country of the sherifs, the land pre-eminently of orthodox Islam, the religious orders, and the worship of saints.

There is another book of great interest which treats of Morocco, which the Comte de Segonzac has published under the title of "Excursion au Sous."‡ Sus is that portion of South Morocco which up to now—and acknowledged even by the Moroccans themselves—has had such a bad reputation for insecurity and barbarism and which induced the men of my escort, from fear of being led there through the gorges of Imintanout, to desert me in January, 1901.

It was in this—rightly or wrongly-called—inhabitable country that Segonzac penetrated, accompanied by a solitary muleteer, in 1899. The

\* Fez, Paris, Challamel, 1902.

† See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1901, and January, 1902.

‡ Paris, Challamel, 1901.

traveller's account contains a preface by Moulieras and a political reference to the Moroccan question, in which the author expresses the same opinion which Moulieras supports—the necessity of a French protectorate over the country.

Leaving Marakesh on October 31, 1899, the traveller passed through Tamesloht, Agadir-el-Bour, Kasba Goundafi, Tinesk, Amizmiz, Kasba Mzouda, Kasba Douiri, Amarou Chear, Nazala Argana, Loummi, and Taroudant. It was by way of Imintanout and the Pass of Bibaouan that Segonzac arrived at Taroudant. From the latter place he went as far as Tiznit, and returned along the border to Agadir-Ighir, thence to Mogador, which he reached on November 26.

This account of Segonzac's is charming, but the most important part of the volume is that containing topographical surveys and itineraries, which occupy no less than twenty-nine plates. The remainder is devoted to barometrical, astronomical, and meteorological observations, which the author made along the route. Several photographs are also included, which are of great interest.

## BUDDHISM AND ART.

BY R. G. CORBET.

THE religion of the early Aryan invaders of India was not one calculated to promote the development of art. Its deities, who stood by turns for the forces of Nature, and whose functions were merely hers, had so much in common that they lent themselves but little to representation as individuals; besides, the worshipper only approached them through the sacrificing priests, and therefore did not acquire that personal familiarity with them which leads to portraiture. Nay, so much prominence was given to the details of the sacrifice that those to whom it was offered were thrown into the background. Far from exhibiting any special characteristics for art to seize upon, they partook rather of the nature of abstractions, and changed their names and their attributes, or even disappeared altogether, without affecting the complicated rites that existed in their honour. These were accompanied, as time went on, by much philosophical speculation; but, as its tendency was scientific rather than mystical, art found here, too, very little to help it forward.

It was different with Buddhism. By eliminating the intercession of the priestly caste and throwing the believer on his own resources, it tended to create a necessity for pictorial representation, a medium which appeals powerfully to the rank and file; while it gave the artist tangible subjects by transforming the hazy figures of the ancient mythology into concrete attendants upon a central historical personage, whom it surrounded, moreover, with those actually associated with him when he was alive. Another factor that contributed to make Buddhism and art go hand in hand in India was that the former established a footing in the land about the time when foreign influences began to infuse fresh life into the latter. Hence, to quote from one of the most recent authorities on the subject, Professor A.

Grünwedel's "*Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*"—of which a translation, revised and enlarged by Dr. J. Burgess, late Director-General of the Archæological Survey in India, has now been published by Mr. Bernard Quaritch\*—"The figurative part of Brahman art," so far as can be judged from the materials now accessible, "is based essentially upon Buddhist elements"; the representations of Jaina art are "still more dependent on Buddhism"; and "in Asiatic countries, outside India, which subsequently embraced the doctrines of Buddha, ecclesiastical art is developed on the basis of Indian types until the Middle Ages."

In the peninsula "no important monument goes further back than the third century B.C.," stone-building on a large scale having commenced in the time of Asoka (B.C. 263—221), the first royal patron and follower of Buddhism; whilst "all that have been preserved show undoubted Persian influence."† They had been preceded, however, not only by the primitive plastic efforts occasionally met with in Vedic altars, etc., but by indigenous wood-carving, deeply rooted in an artizan class, and by the art of the goldsmith. Familiarity with wood must evidently have

\* The present article has chiefly been pieced together from the general outline of the subject which the Professor, amid a profusion of erudite details, suggests here and there.

† Although "all the Greek elements found within the Asoka period," says Professor Grünwedel elsewhere, "follow throughout . . . in the steps of the West Asiatic forms," there are "traces of Greek influence in Asoka's buildings, in particular elements which neither the richness of form of the so-called Orientalizing tendency, nor Persian influence, suffice to explain. The elements in question are essentially decorative, and quite in the Persian style. . . . Persian ideas were at work for a much longer time in India, and had a special influence on the later Buddhism of the North." Among the conclusions drawn by him at the end of his work, again, are the following: "The Greek influences shown by the art of the Asoka period follow in the track of older and very energetic Persian influences. This rôle of intermediary on the part of the Persian kingdom is, in a general way, characterized by Herodotus and Ktesias. "West Asian forms—the attribute of the thunderbolt, the so-called orientalizing of animals—afford types for Hindoo gods and other mythological beings of the older school. The fabulous Indian animals mentioned by Herodotus, Ktesias, etc., belong to this category."



been of assistance in modelling when work in stone began, but it prevented Indian sculpture from becoming more than an ornamental relief, seldom reaching organic completeness, in the decoration of large buildings. There are no separate figures in Buddhist art, again, even those executed alone being given an aureole, attendants, and a background. Rich and tastefully-arranged ornaments, often copied from the wonders of tropical vegetation, were the goldsmiths' contribution; this, too, had a baneful effect, for the overloading of the figures with jewellery prevented the attainment of an anatomically correct form. Indian plants, on the other hand, as also the native animals, "mostly surpass what the celebrated Greek art was able to command"; they are reproduced "with astonishing fidelity to nature." The life of Buddha, the worship of religious symbols, processions to holy places, and even an occasional Jātaka, or birth-story, provide the subjects of the Asoka period. "Owing to the simplicity of the religious ideas of the people at the time, the figures required by Buddhist art . . . are few in number, and represent divinities of a low order—demons and beings half divine—for Buddhism had taken root chiefly among the masses, and everywhere employed the speech of the people." The Vedic gods themselves are vague, for texts preaching the vanity of all things, supernal as well as mundane, were not in harmony with the splendours of a pantheon. No picture of Buddha appears on the Asoka reliefs; he is represented by his footprints, the tree under which he obtained enlightenment, a dome erected in his honour, the symbols of his miracles, the wheel standing for his doctrine, and the like. The cult picture appeared when, in course of time, his philosophical system fell back into a worship of gods. "The ability to create an ideal type was lacking" among the natives, "so a portrait was chosen which the artists beautified beyond nature, and which they tried to make authentic by tales of miracles." Subsequently an ideal was created for Buddhist art by foreigners, the type which

eventually prevailed being that of the Gandhara school—a name adopted by Professor Grünwedel in preference to that of Græco-Buddhist, which he contemptuously dismisses, with others akin to it, as, “for various reasons, incorrect and misleading.” The only one he specifies is that they “are open to the objection of implying a theory respecting the art origin” of the sculptures, etc., in question. This objection does not seem to hold good in the case of Dr. Leitner’s designation of Græco-Buddhist, for as Mr. William Simpson observed, when addressing the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, “this Greek influence is now recognised by everyone.” Many eminent archæologists have borne witness to it; but it may be enough to adduce that of Professor Grünwedel himself. When, for instance, he introduces the subject, he thus takes exception—as did Dr. Leitner—to one of Mr. V. A. Smith’s conclusions :

“Mr. V. Smith lays stress on certain features of the art as being Roman rather than Greek. This distinction, however, must not be carried too far: it is one of *age* rather than of *origin*. Roman art had always been influenced by Greek taste and models. . . . Roman art in sculpture and decorative invention was primarily Hellenic; the Greeks developed Roman architecture. . . . We may call the art of the early Christian centuries Roman, as being *produced under Roman rule*, but it was Greek minds that inspired and Greek hands that executed it.”

In summing up the results of his investigations, again, he says: “The Gandhara school represents a long development, which begins with antique (heathen) forms, and seems to end with Christian ones. The reliefs preserved are, indeed, for the most part, replicas of old models, which are entirely based on Grecian composition laws. . . .

“Hellenic deities in the character of the times of Alexander (*i.e.*, local divinities) are traceable to Gandhara. . . . The following Greek divinities exist latent. . . . Apollo served as a pattern for Buddha.

"These Grecian representations have exercised a distinct influence on the texts of the northern school. . . .

"The types of the Gandhara school (as well as the Grecian mode of composition) are still traceable in the Buddhist ecclesiastical art, as well as in the Buddhist schools of Tibet, China, and Japan."

Other passages either affirm expressly, or imply, the Professor's belief in the Greek influence upon what he calls the Gandhara sculptures, but the following, which throw further light upon the matter, and are so important that they deserve to be quoted *in extenso*, must suffice :

"Greek artists, in their wanderings, carried with them the types and style of the age to which they belonged. And during the first three centuries of our era, Greek art was an article of exportation, and artists—art practitioners—also seem to have travelled everywhere in search of employment. Naturally, they would copy or adapt the models of their native art to meet the demands of their foreign clients, of whatever religion.

". . . The most ancient of all the sculptures are, of course, those which represent purely Greek subjects. A further development revealing an idealistic and a realistic tendency, but at the same time a series that is more Hellenic and one more Indian, is very noticeable in different pieces of sculpture which, unfortunately, cannot possibly be examined in Europe.\* One seems to recognise a great many of the borrowings made : Greek elements, Roman, and even Christian. The Gandhara school has consequently a certain analogy with the old Etruscan. Even here an indigenous naturalism is found side by side with the influence of the architectural styles of West Asia—the Etruscan intermixed with the Greek. But as Italian art gradually passes into Christian, and endeavours to derive from the old types models for the saints of the new religion which has overthrown heathenism, so, in the Gandhara school, extra-

\* Except by paying a visit to the "Leitner Museum" at Woking, which contains a most varied collection of these sculptures and affords every facility for comparative purposes.—ED.

ordinarily similar types are developed for the Buddhist saints. A wide range of homogeneous resemblances is apparent here: both religions, Christian, and Buddhist, have in their ethical doctrines much that is related; the same external means, outrunners of ancient art, contribute to the development of the types, and, in addition, direct borrowing is evident. By its representation of forms, the school of the Gandhara monasteries is only a daughter of ancient art; but as it represents none but Indian subjects—the saints and legends of a purely Indian religion—it belongs entirely to Indian life; and this so much the more that it forms the groundwork for the canonical representation of the founder of the religion and several other personages, especially of the northern school; so also the Greek art of composition, as will be shown more in detail below, from this time onward, is apparent in Buddhist art in all lands.”

It would obviously be impossible to follow the author step by step through the remaining three-fifths of the book, in which he proceeds in detail “to indicate the types occurring in the Greek sculptures, to fix their names as far as possible, and generally to sketch their genesis and further development.” A glance at one or two salient points must, therefore, bring this paper to a close.

It has been seen that representations of Buddha were only called for when the human lawgiver had been transformed into a supernatural being, and that the native artists were unequal to the task. They had been accustomed to take plentiful advantage, in treating previous subjects, of clothing and ornaments, with whose aid they disguised their inability accurately to portray the human body. The legends now demanded the idealized figure of a shaven monk, clad in a plain robe which followed the contour of the limbs, and even prescribed the positions to be reproduced. Accordingly, “the chief difference between ancient art and the art of the Gandhara period is that the figure of Buddha is evolved from foreign models,” the Apollo type of the Alexandrine period being used as a

basis for that of Buddha. In course of time, "along with an idealistic tendency which is certainly the older, as it preserves the Greek types," a realistic and more modern one is found ; in both cases there are Indian degeneracies.

"The Gandhara," says Professor Grünwedel in another connection, "was really the mother of all later Buddhist (and Brahmanical) creations in art . . . a definite history might actually be established on this basis, which would also rectify the history of international influences and the modifications of the interpretations that Buddhist monuments have undergone through other religions." In later Indian art the single figures are mostly over-refined developments of the older Indian art. The treatment of the garments, so far as the arrangement of the draperies is concerned, "shows the influences of the Gandhara sculptures, although perhaps only by an indirect transition." The austere type of the faces has made way for others, in which "the Greek influence is also very apparent," but the Indian element decidedly preponderates. The foreign elements are overpowered by the Indian style, and "serve only here and there as means to an end."

The repetition of Buddha figures is ascribed by Professor Grünwedel to the theory that each Buddha on the earth had a "Dhyani-buddha," or mystic counterpart, in one of the upper heavens, and each of the latter a "Bodhisattva," or successor, and to the belief that it was a salutary act to represent as many Buddha figures as possible. Owing to these repetitions all artistic activity naturally decayed, and after a time there were only reproductions of the established types. "With the Gandhara sculptures the second period of Buddhist art closed in so far as no new ideas, no new principles of composition, appear after that." The human figure becomes a mere hieroglyph ; it receives the name of some religious idea, determined by the number of attributes with which it is decked out ; and, when not sufficient in itself to bear them all, a multiplication of limbs enables it to do so. "Therewith," as the Professor says, "real art comes to an end."

## SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

## A PERSONAL SKETCH.

THE time is so near when the Anglo-Indians of the early Victorian period will be all gone that the departure from the scene of one of the most remarkable of their younger members may be worth a passing notice. They were a hardy and vigorous crew, and went through an enormous expenditure of mental and bodily exertion without undue damage. But half a century must do its work even on the most vigorous of mortals ; and we have had numerous reminders of the fact in the last few years. Sir James Abbott, and Sir Richard Pollock, Sir Neville Chamberlain and Sir Richard Temple, have all departed within a few months of one another, and it may be useful to take notice of the latest loss, and not the least remarkable personality.

For Temple, while sharing some of the qualities of the school formed by Lawrence and Dalhousie, had strong peculiarities of his own. In his unwavering confidence in the blessings of British rule, his unshakeable belief in the omnipotence of good administration, his courage, energy, and constant industry, he resembled the best of his compeers. Yet there were respects in which he stood alone, differing from other men, both by his strong points and his not very detrimental foibles. He had an appearance and manner which laid him open to good-humoured badinage—expressed among his earlier contemporaries by the would-be humorous nickname Bumble. But he was actuated by an honourable determination to distinguish himself, even from his schooldays. Educated at Rugby under Arnold, he rose to the top of the school by dint of application and sound scholarship. It was Classics that won success in those days ; had it been anything else, he would have done whatever hard work would do. When he left school for Haileybury, he availed himself to the full of such advantages as were afforded by that not very highly

organized place of instruction, taking a good number of prizes and passing out in the First Class. In his last term he gained the Essay prize, and it was noted that he headed his composition with a motto from Homer expressing the intention

"Still to excel and always be the best."

In the strength of that endeavour he proceeded to join the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. Marrying early, he became apprenticed to the Collector of Muttra, Mr. Thornton, under whom he soon acquired the rudiments of his arduous profession, and did so well that in the second year of his service he was selected for employment in the then newly-acquired Province of the Punjab. Early in 1851 he became Assistant Commissioner in the Julundur Doab, under John Lawrence; and when that masterful man rose to be Chief Commissioner of the Punjab—under which modest title was veiled an almost unlimited monarchy subject to Dalhousie's general inspiration and control—Temple was made Secretary. In that capacity he first displayed those powers of hard work and of graphic, though somewhat pompous, official eloquence which were to become characteristic of his future career.

The policy by which the Chief Commissioner and his Secretary converted to loyalty and welfare an anarchic province that had waged an obstinate and nearly equal war against the Empire for the last five years, is one of the most creditable episodes of modern history. The Punjab in Hardinge's time had been in an almost hopeless condition; ruled by a dominant military class, whose army—drilled by European officers of the Napoleonic school—was full of *esprit de corps* and enthusiasm, such as had never been exceeded since the day of Cromwell's Ironsides. The Sikh soldiery fixed their own pay, made and unmade civil rulers, dictated national measures, and finally invaded British India. Yet scarcely had Dalhousie—who succeeded Hardinge—laid down the burden of his office when the Mutiny shook the Imperial fabric; and by that time

not only was the Sikh Army ready to break the force of the rebellion, but the Punjab had become the most orderly and faithful province of the Empire. This almost miraculous transformation was entirely the work of John Lawrence and his Secretary, whose measures were described by the latter in a report which is well summarized in the able history of Captain Trotter entitled "*India under Victoria.*" The document bears marks both of Temple's cultured pen and the stern practical mind of his master, and is a most creditable specimen of Anglo-Indian apologetics. Free from official optimism, it told a tale of honest effort; not forcing European ideas upon an unprepared people, but directing their intrinsic industry into channels beneficial to themselves.

Those were the days in which Temple was at his best and founded all the fabric of his future prosperity. For although by no means destitute of initiative, it was above all by his qualities as an able and loyal subordinate that he was formed to shine. In after-days he was ready to acknowledge how independent Lawrence had been of secretarial suggestion. Often enough, indeed, the Chief Commissioner would listen patiently to all that his Secretary laid before him, and then dictate a minute to an absolutely opposite effect. In one thing, however, both were in accord, and their agreement was more fortunate than pleasant to those concerned. "We made a rule," Temple said, "of requiring from our officers more than they could possibly perform; and so, you see, we were sure of getting something done."

At the end of five years the administrative crusade had attained complete success; the once lawless province was a land of order and prosperity over which Lawrence ruled with the aid of a staff of officials trained by himself, among them being John Nicholson, Herbert Edwardes, Robert Napier—the future captor of Magdala—and, above all, Robert Montgomery, with whose co-operation Temple prepared a code of law "with special reference to the



known peculiarities of the people" (Aitchison). In 1856 he took advantage of a lull in the work to go to Europe on private affairs—being, indeed, quite human, despite some rather blunt banter of which he was sometimes made a victim by John Lawrence. During Temple's absence the Punjab was exposed to the fiery trial of the Mutiny; and it is no exaggeration to say that but for the Chief and his officers Delhi would not have been taken until the arrival of an army from home and the practical conquest of entire Hindustan. Temple returned as quickly as possible, and in 1858 became Commissioner—Prefect—of the Metropolitan Division of Lahore, answerable for the administration of 9,000 square miles of territory—considerably larger than the whole area of Wales—with a population of about two millions. This might seem a sufficient responsibility for a man of thirty-two, but more was soon to come. In 1861 a new administration was created by joining part of Berar with part of Upper India under the title of Central Provinces, and the young civilian found himself made the first Chief Commissioner. Under that inexpressive style, and subject to the general control of the Viceroy, Temple now ruled a tract of country as large as the kingdom of Italy. Everything was to be created or reformed in this wide region, stretching from the slopes of the Vindhyan range to the banks of the Godavery, and inhabited by races of whom some were Hindus in a high state of social organization, others being shy savages wandering over hidden mountain jungles. The whole had been at once neglected and ill-governed, the administration mostly confined to a system of rack-renting. Many problems thus presented themselves, with which Temple grappled with his usual energy. A tireless horseman, he visited every corner of his wild dominion, looking into all things with a shrewd, observant eye. Before he got his next advancement he had brought the new province into its due place in the Imperial Kosmos. It was the work of six busy years, for details of which Captain Trotter's already cited

work may be again consulted ("India under Victoria," ii., 190).

In 1867 Temple obtained fresh recognition in a new field of usefulness, being appointed to the important office of Resident at the Court of the Nizam ; but before the end of the year he was called upon to undertake the still more difficult duties of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. This Department involves not only the relations of the State with outlying powers like Afghanistan, but also the control of such offices as Temple had held at Haidarabad ; and to this was further added the ultimate administrative power over what were called "non-regulation provinces," such as his penultimate post at Nagpore. The Indian Viceroys, like William III.—our last governing King—usually retain the Foreign Office in their own hands ; and the then Viceroy was John Lawrence. That he should have selected his *quondam* Secretary as colleague in the Department is abundant proof of the confidence inspired by experience. Had Lawrence not felt sure of Temple's zeal, loyalty, and capacity for work, no feeling of personal friendship would have led to the appointment. But he did not hold the post long, being soon made a Member of Council and put in charge of the Ministry of Finance. Now, for the first time, the versatile administrator held a position for which he was not very well fitted, either by nature or acquired habit, and the result was what might have proved injurious to a man of less energy and resource. At the Indian Exchequer Temple was hardly a success. His nature was sanguine and he was used to immediate results, but he was now in a situation where he was dependent on the work of others, and on a nice but tedious calculation of past, present, and future. His buoyant temper habituated him to take optimistic views, and led him to "budget for a surplus" in his first year. Once more in a moment of crisis he was away from India, having gone home in 1869, leaving the Treasury in a condition which presently revealed a deficit about

equivalent to two millions sterling. Strong measures were immediately adopted by Lord Mayo, the new Viceroy, and the finances were balanced by the end of the official year. Until his premature and tragic decease Mayo kept a sharp look-out on the Imperial accounts, and his successor, Lord Northbrook, bringing his calm wisdom to bear upon the subject, scandal was reduced to a minimum in this, always the weakest element of Anglo-Indian administration. It is in no spirit of carping that historians have to observe the chronic disorder of Indian finance; the ever-recurring problem of a civilized government with a savage income has yet to be surmounted, and the only blame that can attach to Temple for not solving it must be that he acted as if it did not exist.

But he held on as best he might, with his usual tenacity, rewarded in 1874. In that year the failure of the monsoon rains entailed an alarming scarcity in the East of India: and the London papers, being in want of a sensational topic, started the proposition that the Indian authorities were personally to answer for a single death due to starvation. In natural alarm, those authorities turned to the sanguine, vigorous, and docile subordinate who had served so well in the Punjab and Central Provinces; Temple was deputed to represent the Government of India in Bengal; the Lieutenant-Governor at once laid down his office; Temple took his place and found the great opportunity of his life. A vast display of energy and expenditure ensued; carriage was improvised, supplies were poured into the country, outdoor relief was afforded to the impotent, the stronger were set to work; out of a population of fifty millions not fifty deaths were ascribed to hunger; the outlay amounted to a sum equivalent to six millions of English sterling. How far that vast campaign was called for was much disputed; a flippant journalism in Calcutta criticising, as it did, the conduct of the Government, attributed to the Bengali Babus the gibe that "His Honour had *held a famine*"; Temple, on the other hand, observing that the real extent of a crisis could

not be fairly estimated by the success with which it had been encountered; had the distress become acute and abnormal, then—and then only—his measures would have merited censure. In any case, the credit of the Government was saved, and Temple was rewarded by the bestowal of a baronetcy.

Unhappily, the critics had ere long another cause of carping. In 1877 a famine of undoubted severity afflicted a large part of the South and West of India. By that time Lord Lytton had succeeded Lord Northbrook; and his Prime Minister, Sir John Strachey, is believed to have inspired the administration with more cautious principles. Once more the services of Sir R. Temple were in requisition—this time to restrain rather than to stimulate. The Madras Government—then under the Duke of Buckingham—being suspected of a tendency to extravagance, Temple was deputed to lay before His Grace and his Councillors an exposition of the policy favoured at headquarters. A story current at the time exhibits—probably in the form of myth—a prevailing estimate of the matter. After Temple had addressed the Madras Council, he was said to have been answered by Robert Ellis, the ablest and most influential member, with the serio-comic query: “Why he had not given earlier intimation that this was to be a cheap famine? We might all have been Baronets by this time.” Necessarily, the views of the Supreme Government prevailed, but the famine proved anything but cheap. The extraordinary expenditure was nearly double of the amount complained of on the former occasion, but an appalling mortality testified to the disadvantage of endeavouring to economize in the beginning, the loss of life exceeding the normal deaths by about five and a half millions. Needless to say that no blame attached to Temple, who had merely enforced the instructions of his employers, and who was speedily rewarded with further promotion in the shape of the governorship of the Bombay Presidency. In that position he was fortunate enough to escape the trials of calamity. In

ordinary times a Governor of Bombay or Madras is aided by a Council, while initiative and responsibility are alike diverted by the supremacy of the Governor-General; and Temple was wont to say that he had more real power in the lieutenancy of Bengal. Nevertheless, he by no means relaxed his vigilant application to business, adding to an almost encyclopædic acquaintance with India, and storing his portfolio with more of the picturesque paintings in which he showed so much artistic observation and skill.

Temple's Indian career closed in 1880, when he laid down the reins at Bombay and bade adieu to the dependency that he had served for more than a generation. But he did not mean to be shelved. As a member of the House of Commons he became a familiar figure, while his experience of Indian finance procured him similar employment on the reduced, but still important, scale of the London School Board. His work in Parliament, indeed, was not more noticeable than that of men of his class in general. There is but little in the life of an Indian official to give the training needed for senatorial distinction. Like Dr. Johnson's "Libyan lion," he has been wont to "rage without resistance and roar without reply." In Temple's case peculiarities of appearance and manner enhanced the difficulties due to lack of training; yet on his own subject he was heard with as much attention as a chamber of political partisans is wont to bestow on a subject removed from party interests. But a homely phrase of our ancestors reminds us that it is hard to teach an old dog new tricks.

Allusion has been made to Temple's singularities; and they were emphasized by the unsparing pencil of political caricature. Nevertheless they were not wholly disadvantageous; he had a penetrating way of looking at one, his smile was very genial, and his entire bearing bespoke intelligence and manly good-nature. He was an intrepid horseman, a good writer, and a delineator of landscape and architecture, who might have taken a high place as an artist if he had made art his profession. But all these things were

secondary gifts, however instrumental to his success in life. The main thing was that a country gentleman of no special rank or genius was able, by dint of industry and obedience to orders, to take every prize that Anglo-Indian life had to bestow, and to fill a respectable place in the more complicated and competitive life of London after his Indian career had come to a close. In addition to his baronetcy, Temple, at the time of his death, was a Privy Councillor, a Grand Cross of the Star, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an honorary graduate of more than one British University. And he has left in many hearts a recollection of kindly friendship that will never pass away but with existence. It is a record of which a man's family may well be proud, and fully justifies the motto of his college essay—"Always to excel."

The moral of the story is surely not obscure. The relations of India to the Empire are unprecedented: a vast expanse of country, partly tropical and wholly exposed to peculiar climatic conditions, inhabited by a number of races different in respect of language, creed, and civilization, being ruled by a handful of aliens. The Spanish operations in America during the sixteenth century present superficial points of comparison, but differ in the most essential respect. The crusades of Cortez and Pizarro were a blend of missionary enterprise and naked lust of gold: conquest overspread the lands of Peru and Mexico with a destructive flood which swept away almost every trace of the indigenous institutions. But when the temples of the natives had been mingled with the palaces of their Kings in a common and irretrievable ruin, the conquerors mixed freely with the conquered, introducing their laws and establishing their religion, so that in all those vast and varied regions native life disappeared, giving way to a number of Catholic communities of half-castes. In India, on the other hand, no attempt has been made at colonization, if we except the Portuguese settlement at Goa; the various populations

retain their laws, languages and worship ; all that is aimed at is peace, order, and purity of administration. For such work the Government requires in its agents unquestioning obedience and the consecration of all capacities to untiring labour. Such qualifications were possessed by Temple, and the possession made him a typical and most successful member of the Indian Civil Service.

## THE EPTHALITE TURKS.

By E. H. PARKER.

As these people form the earliest immediate link between China and Europe of which we possess any genuine evidence, I proceed to give a summary of their history as it is represented in the Chinese records.

It appears that about B.C. 200 there were two small nomad States, somewhat similar in habits of life to the Hiung-nu, occupying the fertile tract through which to this day runs the highroad from Ch'ang-an (Si-an Fu) in China to Turkestan. These two peoples or States were always styled by the Chinese writers Yüeh-shī and Wu-sun, and both belonged to the category of "Hu" (which excludes Tibetans most rigidly); but the historians are very careful to lay stress upon the fact that the syllable *shī* sounds as though it were *tshī*—that is to say, it was neither, but more like a sibilant with a *t* sound, *i.e.*, *chī*. It is dangerous to lay down any absolute rule as to what foreign sounds the ancient Chinese, themselves speaking several dialects, intended to imitate when they used a given character, but to this day the words in question are pronounced in such a way, in a dozen well-known dialects (embracing Corea and Annam), that *Et-the* and *O-sen* are as likely as any other sounds to have been meant: we cannot urge more. The exact range of the pasture-land occupied is so definitely and repeatedly stated that we know for a certainty its maximum area must have been all contained between Long. 95 and 105, Lat. 36 and 41—*i.e.*, between the Yellow River, Si-ning, Lake Kokonor, the Alashan Desert, and the Peski Kum or "Sandy Desert"; in fact, one commentator's account actually gives the very words used by Marco Polo, Shachou (Saachiou), Suh-chou (Succiur), and Kan or Kam-chou (Campichu); and another history mentions Hwang-chung (Si-ning Fu); moreover, it is important to note that seven



centuries later the Turks are first mentioned as having developed, under a Hiung-nu satrap reigning at modern Liang-chou Fu, into a serious power in this very same locality or neighbourhood, and to have taken the name *Turk*, or "helmet," from a singularly shaped mountain near the modern city of Shan-tan.

The name of the first Wu-sun King of whom we have any record was Nantoumi, and he for some unexplained cause found himself at war with the Yüeh-chi; as a consequence of this he lost both his life and his land, and the horde had to fly to the Hiung-nu—the great imperial nomad power, consisting mainly of what we now style Turkish races, which had just then newly consolidated itself under the ruler T'ou-man, and had in B.C. 220 first begun to seriously menace the Chinese monarchy. Owing to some intrigue about the succession, T'ou-man was induced by a Queen to send his legitimate heir Mehteh, during a lull in hostilities, as a hostage to the Yüeh-chi, whom he then took by surprise and treacherously attacked. But Mehteh was too able a man to be caught in a jealous woman's trap like this; so he effected his escape in a dramatic way; compelled his father's admiration by his bravery; and finally, having gained the army's confidence and ingeniously caused his father's death by indirect methods, succeeded to the nomad throne in the year B.C. 209. Meanwhile Nantoumi's infant son K'un-moh (connected with whom we find the oft-repeated Turkish legend of a lad having been suckled by a wolf) had been carried off in safety to the Hiung-nu by one of the faithful Wu-sun chieftains; and, in consequence of this boy's excellent qualities as he grew to manhood, he had eventually been placed by Mehteh in charge of his late royal father Nantoumi's horde, which had meanwhile been moved west to the region of modern Ili and Kuldja, there serving the Hiung-nu as a sort of western buffer State or garrison. Mehteh during a long and vigorous reign of thirty-six years not only consolidated the Hiung-nu Empire all the way from Corea to the Caspian, but during

a southern raid he nearly took prisoner the founder of the Han dynasty ; and, besides this, he completely broke the power of the Yüeh-chi, his nomad rivals, who had driven the Wu-sun away. His successor, K'i-yü, also known to Chinese history as the "Old Khan above" (173-162), gave the *coup de grâce* to the unfortunate Yüeh-chi, and in accordance with nomad custom made a wassail beaker out of their defeated King's skull. The result was that the bulk of the beaten nation had to betake itself west, in the tracks of the Wu-sun, along the only obvious road. They seem (but this is not actually stated) to have successfully avoided their old enemies the Wu-sun, at least for a time, and to have taken the more southerly direction of modern Aksu, Kashgar, and Kokand, instead of the Urumtsi and Kuldja road. However that may be, they managed to get safely through or past Ta-wan, as Ferghana was then called, and to forcibly obtain possession of the dominions of a nomad people known as Sêh or Sak (the *Saka* who fought with Cyrus), then in possession of Sogdiana ; here it was supposed the Yüeh-chi were awaiting allies to join them against their enemies the Hiung-nu, when the Chinese first heard of them. Now was K'un-moh's opportunity to avenge the death of his ancestor Nantoumi. He accordingly obtained the permission of the Hiung-nu *shen-yü* (= Emperor, or Khan), his overlord, to attack the Yüeh-chi, who were consequently obliged to fly further west and then south, and eventually to invade the kingdom of Bactriana, at that time known to the Chinese as Ta-hia. Meanwhile the Sak fled still further southwards, and formed (around modern Cabul) a considerable kingdom, long known to the Westerns as Sakastene (Seistan). The idea accepted by many European writers, that others of these Saka fled to Nepaul, and there gave rise to the *Shakya* family of Buddha, seems to be solely based on an ill-judged seventh-century scholion by the celebrated Yen Shî-ku, and to be unworthy of serious notice, besides being anachronistic.

The above is the first chapter in the story, but it is

important to remember that, such as it is, it is all hearsay, having either been culled from Hiung-nu prisoners of war in China ; or having been learnt by Chinese prisoners much later, during their many years' detention among the Hiung-nu. So far from the Chinese having possessed at first hand any earlier knowledge of Western Asia, not to say of Europe, it seems clear that the very name of the Yüeh-chi, although they lived in the third if not second century before Christ, quite near to China, was totally unknown to the central Government, and to the literature of any State in China, before the year B.C. 140. Nor do the 6,000-years series of clay tablets recently discovered in Chaldea seem to hint in the vaguest way at such a place as China. K'i-yüeh had now been succeeded by his son Kün-ch'ên (162-127), and the *Reichsmehrer* Wu Ti (for that is in effect the meaning of his posthumous title) was now seated upon the throne of China (141-87). The Emperor was determined to finish once for all the hereditary struggle maintained so long by his predecessors with the Hiung-nu ; and, hearing that possible allies were obtainable in the West, he called for volunteers, with a view to a diplomatic mission to secure the Yüeh-chi co-operation. Chang K'ien, a young and ardent military officer, whose imagination had already been fired by the exciting stories told to him by Hiung-nu captives, at once offered himself for service, and taking with him a nondescript sort of man versed in the nomad ways and speech to serve as personal attendant and guide, he sallied forth, with a considerable suite, by way of modern Kan Suh province, which then formed the "right" part of the nomad empire, though it had been comparatively deserted since the Yüeh-chi defeat. The travellers were arrested, and were passed on to the ruler's encampment. Naturally the Supreme Khan, or *shen-yü* as he was then styled, did not quite see his way to further Chang K'ien's openly avowed project of visiting the Yüeh-chi in their new domain. He said : " They lie now to the northward of me. Supposing I wished to send a similar mission to Yüeh (then the loose

name for semi-independent South China), do you suppose the Han Emperor would allow me to pass it through?" However, he treated the Chinaman kindly, gave him a wife, and quartered him and his following in the western part of the nomad divisions, apparently in the neighbourhood of what we now call Aksu, or perhaps nearer to Kashgar. Here Chang K'ien remained in honourable captivity for ten years, and here it was that he collected the information given above, for which he is the sole known authority: as the Chinese say, he first "bored a hole" to the West.

On the death of Kün-ch'ên, civil strife broke out in connection with the Hiung-nu succession, and the relaxation of nomad vigilance in the West consequent upon this intestine trouble gave the Chinese envoy the anxiously longed-for opportunity to escape. "Flying west for several tens of days" (from which expression we may judge about where he was), he got to Ta-wan (the Ferganskaya *oblast* of Russia), and was there very well received by the King, who, being no friend of the overbearing Hiung-nu, and anxious for trade with China, readily furnished him with interpreters and an escort to the next State towards the west, which was K'ang-kü (the present Samarcandskaya *oblast*). Here he found that the Yüeh-chi King had been killed by the Hu (a provokingly vague name for all Persians, Hindoos, and "Tartars"), and that either his Queen or his Queen's eldest son (accounts vary) had succeeded to him; moreover, that this last-mentioned new ruler had been obliged to move farther west and south, and to subdue Ta-hia, on the other side of the Oxus (Bactriana). Here they were too comfortable to trouble themselves about China's schemes, so Chang K'ien returned home, *re infectâ*, by the southerly route of Lob Nor and the Tibetan tribes; reaching China, after various mishaps, in B.C. 126. Meanwhile K'un-moh had possessed himself of part at least of the K'ang-kü lands thus vacated by the Yüeh-chi (B.C. 129), and had taken advantage of Hiung-nu anarchy to throw off his allegiance to those

exacting suzerains. In B.C. 123 the Chinese drove the Hiung-nu away from the "right" land, and cleared the old Yüeh-chi country, right up to Lob Nor, of Hiung-nu bands; and now it was that Chang K'ien first told the Emperor the story of Nantoumi. The result was that about B.C. 117-115 he was sent on a second mission to engage Wu-sun aid. Chang K'ien tried to persuade the Wu-sun King (who is stated to have assumed the state and consequence of a *shen-yü* or Supreme Khan) that it would be for his advantage to lead his horde back to his father Nantoumi's old pastures on the Chinese frontiers; but K'un-moh felt quite satisfied with his independent position between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and declined to go; moreover, family jealousies prevented his absenting himself from his capital, even if he had so wished. The Chinese diplomat sent members of his bulky staff on mission to the neighbouring States, amongst which are specifically mentioned Ferghana, Samarcand, Parthia, Bactriana, Ta-yüeh-chi, Shên-tuh (India), Khoten, and Gumo (100 miles east of Khoten) Chang-K'ien himself returned, accompanied by a Wu-sun mission, to China, where he died about B.C. 114.

In B.C. 106 K'un-moh succeeded in obtaining a Chinese wife, but as his "right" wife was a Hiung-nu, and he was getting old, he made her his "left" wife, and passed her on to his heir-apparent and grandson in due course. I have published a translation of her lament under this infliction ("John Chinaman," Murray); but, as a second princess came back "for a holiday" in B.C. 50, it is evident that a succession of Tartar husbands agreed with Chinese ladies.

At the time the above events took place, it was known that the former capital of Ta-hia, now of Yüeh-chi, was a little to the north of the river Oxus. The historian Sz-ma Ts'ien, whose great work brings us down to B.C. 104, does not mention exactly what the Yüeh-chi did when they took possession of Ta-hia; in fact, he states clearly that all about the Far West, except the four States of Ta-wan, K'ang-kü, Yüeh-chi, and Ta-hia, is mere hearsay; he also says that

Ta Yüeh-chi was *not* under the Chinese *tuhu* or diplomatic proconsul. "The land, way of living, objects used, popular practices, and money values, all as in Parthia. It produces single-humped camels." But Pan Ku, whose history of the Early Han Dynasty is continued down to A.D. 5, enters into more particulars.

It seems very clear, then, that Lan-shi (? Drapsaca or ? Branchides), the Yüeh-chi capital north of the Oxus (the lower course of which river, running south-west into the Caspian, was very different from what it is now), was only so made after the conquest of Ta-hia, the greater part of which State lay to the south of the Oxus; but there is some doubt whether the parcelling out by the Yüeh-chi conquerors of Ta-hia country into five principalities, each under a *kih-hou*, was an idea of their own, or an administrative arrangement based on the non-monarchical system which, it is stated, was originally in vogue there. However that may be, the *kih-hou* are distinctly said to have been Wu-sun official titles as well as Yüeh-chi-Bactrian. At the date Pan Ku wrote (say A.D. 90) the country of Ta-hia had been long divided into the five extensive lordships named by him, each of which has a distinctly traceable history under varying names for many centuries after that, but only one of which it is presently necessary to mention here. This is the lordship of Kwei-shwang (the Kushan of Syrian authors), whose capital was at an unidentified place called Hu-tsao city. Five centuries later this satrapy was called K'ien-tun (? Candahar). The Chinese had now (A.D. 90) habitually given the name of Ta Yüeh-chi, or "Great Yüeh-chi," to this new nomad empire thus established on the ruins of Ta Hia, or "Great Hia," which lay to the south-west of Ta Wan, or "Great Wan"; but they admit that Kwei-shwang was the more correct appellation after the conquest of the other four lords by the lord of Kwei-shwang. There seems no reason to suppose that the word *Ta*, "great," has any phonetic value in a single one of these cases, for the Chinese then called themselves Ta Han, "Great Han," just as they

afterwards called themselves Ta Tsin, Ta Wei, Ta T'ang, Ta Ming, etc., and still call themselves Ta Ts'ing, "Great Pure," or "Manchu." Moreover, the weaker hordes of the Yüeh-chi, which had been unable to join in the scamper west, had sought refuge in the mountains to the north of Lake Kokonor, where they were known for some considerable time to the Chinese as Siao Yüeh-chi, or "Lesser Yüeh-chi," a name originally given to the refugees by the friendly Tibetan tribes lying to the south of their old homes, who had suffered them to take asylum in the hills about there; in one case the *Han Shu* even mentions a Tibetan noble of Lesser Yüeh-chi race, so that we may assume privileges of "citizenship" were occasionally accorded to the refugees. In B.C. 117 there is specific mention of a Chinese general having, in the course of an attack upon the Hiung-nu, come across the Lesser Yüeh-chi in their old habitat in the K'i-lien Hills near (variously stated to be north-west of and south-west of) modern Kan-chou (*K'i-lien*, "pronounced like *shi-lien*," is stated to be a Hiung-nu word for "Heaven"). After that date there is no mention of them near China, and they probably followed their kinsmen west. It is just possible they were the mysterious *Hwah*, of whom we shall shortly have more to say.

The next direct evidence is that of the Later Han history, the author of which, Fan Yeh, was executed for treason in A.D. 445. He tells us that it was about one hundred years after the above-described conquest of Ta-hia by the Yüeh-chi (say B.C. 25) that the lord of Kwei-shwang, who bore the name of K'iu-tsiu-K'ioh (? Kadphises), attacked and extinguished the power of the other four lords, taking the name of his own lordship as a national designation for the whole, and styling himself King of Kwei-shwang. He then invaded Parthia, and annexed the territory of Kao-fu (? Cabul); he also conquered and took possession of the two States of P'uh-tah (? Pukhta) and Ki-pin (Cophene). Dying at the age of eighty, he was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-chên (? Kadaphes), who conquered a considerable

part of T'ien-chuh, "also called Shên-tuh" (India); and, in lieu of the native Princes there, placed Military Governors in charge of that country. "Yüeh-chi after this date became exceedingly rich and flourishing; all the other countries styled the ruler 'King of Kwei-shwang,' but China, adhering to the older name, still called the country Great Yüeh-chi." Fragments of Pan Ku's other writings speak of Chinese generals "bartering divers silks for Yüeh-chi storax and horses"; and of "Yüeh-chi carpets of various sizes made out of sheep's wool."

Fan Yeh goes on to make a very important remark. He says: "The Early Han history includes Kao-fu amongst the five lordships, which is a mistake. Parthia possessed Kao-fu for a time, and it was not until Yüeh-chi broke the power of Parthia that Yüeh-chi got it. Kao-fu was a considerable State south-west of Yüeh-chi, with manners like those of India; but the people were weak, and easy to subdue; they were, however, good traders, and the country was very well off. It belonged alternately to India, Cophen, and Parthia, whichever happened to be in the ascendant; but Yüeh-chi had never previously possessed it."

In connection with this partial conquest of Parthia, it is interesting to note that the Later Han history states in one place that in the year 87 A.D. Parthia sent lions and other strange beasts to China; but it repeats in another place exactly the same words in reference to the Yüeh-chi after their defeat by General Pan Ch'ao, who had just reconquered modern Kashgar (Sulêh) and Yarkand (So-kü). A further light is thrown upon the matter in connection with the account of India, "which has similar customs with, but is weaker than Yüeh-chi. . . . All south-west of Yüeh-chi and Kao-fu, right up to the west sea, and all east down to P'an-yüeh State (unidentified), was once all T'ien-chuh (also called Shên-tuh) land, over which several tens of Kings were appointed; though their names might differ, they all styled themselves 'of Shên-tuh.' At the time (we speak of) they all belong to Yüeh-chi, who killed the Kings



and substituted Military Governors. . . . The Tung-li State (unidentified), with capital at Sha-k'i city, is south-east of T'ien-chuh, and was also made vassal to the Yüeh-chi." I have found other evidence to show that Sha-k'i was in S'rāvastī. All this, as M. Drouin has ably shown in his numismatic writings, explains the "King of the Kings" used on coins by the Persian, Greek, Parthian, and Indian Kings alternately, or by other Kings using those or Aramaean languages for the purpose.

Then, touching Yüeh-chi's influence in High Asia: "During the year A.D. 90, General Pan Ch'ao (brother of the historian Pan Ku) was attacked by the assistant King of the Yüeh-chi with 70,000 men on the Chinese side of the Onion Range, not far from modern Kuche, but he overcame them. . . . Yüeh-chi had just then formed a marriage alliance with K'ang-kü, which was then assisting Su-lêh (Kashgar); so Pan Ch'ao sent presents to the Yüeh-chi ruler, exhorting him to use his influence with the King of K'ang-kü. Pan Ch'ao thus gained his point touching the Wu-tsih city belonging to Kashgar (? Ush). . . . Yüeh-chi had already assisted Pan Ch'ao in the conquest of modern Turfan (Kü-shi), and it was because Pan Ch'ao refused their ruler a Chinese wife that the tribute mission of 87 ended in the war of 90. During the period 106-125 the uncle of the King of Kashgar, owing to some offence committed, betook himself to the Yüeh-chi, whose King (? Kanishka, or else Huvishka) treated him kindly, and later on managed through his own prestige and power to secure the fugitive's succession to the vacant Kashgar throne. . . . After A.D. 127 there were no Chinese relations with the Wu-sun, or with any States west of the Ts'ung-ling (Onion Range)."

China up to this time had never exhibited much military prowess or possessed any permanent influence west of the Onion Range or the Pamir, her only military successes in the Far West having been the taking by storm of the Ferghana capital in B.C. 101, and of the north-western Hiung-nu capital

on the Ural or the Volga in B.C. 26; and now she had to her credit the above-mentioned successes over the Yüeh-chi armies near Kuche in A.D. 90. Her flickering power in that direction after this utterly disappeared for many centuries; and, to complete its eclipse, in the year 220 she herself split up into three rival empires, of which only the northern one, that of Wei, founded by the Chinese Pompey, Ts'ao Ts'ao, had any relations at all with High Asia and Tartary. The *Wei Lioh*, or "Outline of the Wei Empire," no longer exists as a complete work; it consisted originally of fifty books, and was written by one Yü Hwan, who already, on the Wei Dynasty's declaring itself in 220, held high office under it; as the dynasty lasted until 265, he must apparently have written his book about then. All we possess of it now are fragments quoted as notes by the *Wei Chü*, the standard history of the same Wei dynasty, published about 295. Amongst other things it plainly states that China's first communications with the north-western States began with Chang K'ien, and it mentions the "remains of the Yüeh-chi," as though then still "living along the whole line from the Tibetans south of Tun-hwang to the Onion Range." One of the most interesting and copious extracts states, on the authority of S'râvasti *sûtras* cited, that "in the year B.C. 2 a certain Chinese scholar named King-lu received by word of mouth from I-ts'un, the envoy or spokesman of the great Yüeh-chi King, the following words from a Buddha *sûtra*: 'He who is again set up, he is the man.'" At first sight this cabalistic utterance sounds like one of the many Jewish and Buddhist legends about a Messiah which were then spreading all over Western Asia; but although story-books of a fabulous kind profess to record missions in B.C. 103, 98, and 90, neither of the Han histories mentions the arrival in China of any envoy, at any date, from Yüeh-chi, except the ambiguous one of 87 A.D. as stated above. In fact, the later Han history says in one place: "Pan Ch'ao sent his lieutenant Kan Ying through Parthia to Chaldea (T'iao-chi) in order to look out for Europe (Ta-

ts'in), and brought us back full accounts of many strange places, which Chang K'ien had never even heard of. How is it that neither Chang K'ien nor Pan Ch'ao, in alluding to India, ever so much as mentions the tenets of Buddhism?" Another extract repeats the stories about the above-cited Indian States of Tung-li and P'an-yüeh, but (one of the two versions being necessarily a misprint) calls the first Ch'ê-li, and says it was heavily taxed by the Yüeh-chi, and was also known as Li-wei-t'êh or P'ei-li-wang (*wang* = "King"); also that P'an-yüeh lay to the extreme south-eastern limit of T'ien-chuh, and was also known as Han-yüeh-wang (*wang* = "King") and Yih-pu. However, all the above vague information put together is not worth the following single specific statement of fact recorded under the year 229: "The Great Yüeh-chi King Po-tiao (? Bazadeo or Vasudeva) sent an envoy with offerings, and was given the title of 'the Wei-granted King of Great Yüeh-chi.'" (I may mention that this word *tiao* is elsewhere used alone for the sound *deva*, and the same word *po* is used for *va*.)

At last the Tsin dynasty reunited China into one empire (265-420); but during all this century and a half of time no place west of the Kashgar region is even so much as mentioned in the *res gestæ* chapters. The dynasty had, however, to struggle nearly all the time with Tibetan, Hiung-nu, and Tungusic adventurer-chiefs, sometimes calling themselves "Emperors," along its north frontiers; and it was during this period that Buddhism (the first certain mention of which occurs in A.D. 62) was most active, both by land to Tartar-China, and by sea to real China. The Tibetan, Hiung-nu, and Toba rulers of North China all favoured the new teaching, and, amongst other missionaries, the celebrated Buddhôchinga (328) and Kumârajîva (about 360) enjoyed great influence at the Tartar and Tibetan courts. The modern Si-an Fu (Ch'ang-an) was the capital of an ephemeral Tibetan dynasty when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Fah Hien set out (399) thence upon his travels overland through India, whence again by

sea back to China. In the record of his travels he incidentally mentions (after leaving the Baltistan region, and when crossing the Indus westwards towards modern Swat) that neither Chang K'ien nor Kan Ying had ever got so far *in that direction*. Having arrived at the city of Pulusha (Peshawur), he indulges in some reflections about K'a-ni-k'a (Kanishka), and the invasion of this country by "a former King" of the Yüeh-chi. If the Yüeh-chi possessed any power in the Pamir region or "Little Bukharia" at this time, Fah Hien carefully avoided coming into contact with it, for he turned off southwards near modern Kharashar for a direct journey to Khoten; and after that he manifestly saw no remains of such power in India, or he would have said so. Fah Hien seems to have been one of Kumârajiva's 800 pupils at Ch'ang-an. Several Cophene, Singalese, Hindoo, Kashgar, Kuche, and other missionaries are mentioned by the *Wei Shu* (Toba history) as being in China about now, but nowhere can I find mention of a single Yüeh-chi priest, many of whom some European authors state to have come about 165; the nearest approach to one is An Shih-Kao, son of the King of Parthia, in 185-190, a *sramana*; and the next is a "Hu" *sramana* from Udyâna, named Dharmaraksha, a name signifying *Fah-hu*, or "guardian of the law." The account of Hwei-shêng's mission in 516 to the west (mentioned lower down) speaks retrospectively of this man, who, according to Eitel's "Dictionary of Buddhism," was also styled the "Yüeh-chi Bôdhisattva," and introduced the first Pâli alphabet into China between 267 and 313. This is evidently the same man as the *sramana* Chuh Fah-hu, who, according to the Chinese Jesuit Père Hwang, came to the Tsin capital in 265, and made numerous translations. *Chuh*, "India," an abbreviation of T'ien-chuh, is manifestly used here, as in other places, as a makeshift for a surname or family name, just as Sêng (*Samgha*) is still used as a "surname" for all bonzes in China.

But now a vigorous Tartar power had scattered or

annexed all its nomad and "shepherd" rivals, and had securely established itself in North China (386-550), thus sharing China for a century and a half with a succession of native "literary" dynasties ruling at Nanking (420-589). This northern or Tartar house, like that purely Chinese house which succeeded the Han family in 220, took the style of Wei, that being the ancient or State name of a tract of the Yellow River country in the north-east of Ho Nan, south Chih Li, and south Shan Si; in order to distinguish it from the earlier Wei house (220-265), it is usually styled by historians the "Northern Wei," or "Toba Wei"—more shortly, the "Tobas." It is impossible as yet to say whether they were Turkified Tunguses, or Tungusified Turks, or "Mongols."

It was not until about 435 that the Toba Emperors, who were perpetually at war with the "Geougen" Tartars (successors of the Hiung-nu, antecessors of the Turks), began to perceive the advantage of reopening the long-neglected and almost extinct political relations with Turkestan and Transoxiana, and it is during this fifth century of our era that are mentioned the greatest recorded number of West Asian missions to China. The object of the Tobas was exactly the object of the Han rulers 600 years earlier—to "cut off the Tartars' right arm." Still, Chinese influence in the Turkestan region was immeasurably small in a military or effective sense. In the words of the *Wei Shu*: "Although the Western Regions had relations with the House of [Toba] Wei, still, as the Central Plain (China) had been but recently subdued, the Son of Heaven [*i.e.*, of North China] was amply occupied in consolidating his own position; he had no time for remote expeditions; envoys to and fro' managed, none the less, to keep up friendly intercourse." In those days the Tobas affected to call the real Chinese "island barbarians," whilst the southerners called the Tartar Chinese "pig-tailed bandits." Each side was *the* "Son of Heaven." The same farce was repeated 700 years later when Cathay and the Mongols called the south Chinese

*Manzi.* The ancient name of Yüeh-chī was still in current use, but that once-supreme ruling race seems to have by this time split up into three divisions at least. During the period 435-440 two envoys were sent west. The first, Hū Kang, was arrested by the Geougen; the second, Tung Yüan, got through to the Wu-sun, who probably therefore still have existed in fact, though not as a political unit. It is plainly confessed that much of the chapter is based on hearsay, and not on what Tung Yüan himself experienced.

1. Great Yüeh-chī is described as having the Geougen Empire to its north, and as having transferred its capital farther west to Poh-k'a-lo (? Bokhara) city, in order to escape the Geougen attacks. (See farther on how the Turks and Wu-sun are similarly styled the attacking ones.) It is added that one of the Kings named Ki-to-lo (the *Kidâra Kushâna shâhi* of M. Drouin and Sir A. Cunningham's coins), being a brave and warlike Prince, had invaded North T'ien-chuh (the Punjab), and that Kan-t'o-lo (Gândhâra) with four other States to the north of it had fallen into his hands. (This may be the old story revived, and not at all contemporary history.) During the period 423-452 certain traders from the country visited the North China capital, and gave the Chinese full instructions how to manufacture glass, which from that moment ceased to be a wonder and a rarity in China. (It is remarkable that the general annals, or *res gestæ*, make no mention of this, although innumerable other Turkestan missions are recorded.)

2. Lesser Yüeh-chī State is said to have its capital at Fu-lou-sha (Peshawur), and its King is stated to have "originally" been a son of Ki-to-lo of Great Yüeh-chī (this is more likely to be the Mussulman Padishâh Kiturmân of M. Drouin than the last); but, Ki-to-lo having moved farther west in order to escape the Hiung-nu, his son occupied this city, which was consequently from that time styled Lesser Yüeh-chī. The country is south-west of Po-lu (? Bolor). They formerly occupied the territory between Si-p'ing and Chang-yeh (Si-ning Fu and Kan-chou Fu). (Here,

again, we have reason to suspect old stories, and not contemporary history.) Their clothing is not unlike that of the Tibetans (very likely, as they had lived among them so long); and it is their practice to use gold and silver coins for trading purposes (we have specimens of such in our European museums); they also resemble the Hiung-nu in their custom of moving about with flocks and herds. Ten li (three miles) to the east of their city is a Buddhist pagoda 800 feet high, commonly called the "Thousand Foot Pagoda"; it is 842 years old (Chandragupta's time), "counting back from the eighth year of Wu-ting (550)." In another place it is stated that in 511 the Pu-liu-sha (Peshawur) State, along with K'a-shī-mih (Cashmir), sent offerings; but, curiously enough, once more no mention is made in the general annals of this Pu-liu-sha mission being the Lesser Yüeh-chī mission. (This description of a very tall pagoda corresponds pretty closely with the account given by Fah Hien of a lofty tope actually seen by him at the same place).

3. The Yeh-t'ah State is described as being of the same stock as Great Yüeh-chī; but, it is added, others say they are of High Cart (Ouigour) stock. (See below the account of Hwah kingdom.) "They originally came from outside the Great Wall, and southwards from the Kin Shan (Altyn Tagh; but this term is also used for the mountains north of Shan-tan). Their capital is 200 li (63 miles) south of the U-hu River (? the Ochus, a branch of the Oxus), and the royal capital is Pah-ti-yen city (unidentified), about 10 li in area, full of gorgeous monasteries and pagodas. The customs are rather like those of the Turks; but (here) several brothers marry one wife, and the number of 'horns' in a matron's cap indicates how many brethren she has married. (See below for a similar Hwah custom.) The King intermarries with the Geougen, and keeps up separate establishments for his wives (in 522 he had three of the Geougen Khan's sisters as wives), each 200 or 300 li apart; and he goes the rounds, spending a month with each, except that in the

winter time he stays in one place for three months without moving at all. The life is nomadic, and they have no towns, but move about for pasture, seeking cool places in summer and warm in winter, and dwelling in felt tents (all as in Hwah State). They possess many camels and horses; but no carts; only litters. Their heads are shaved of hair, and their language (probably affected by their Aryan surroundings) is different from the speech of the Geougen, High Carts, and the various Hu (Tartars). Perhaps there are 100,000 of them, ferocious and able to fight; and the King's throne need not pass to a son, but may go to any agnate who has a contempt for danger (also a Turkish custom). In punishments they are prompt and severe: thefts and robberies, no matter what the amount concerned, are visited by cutting the body in twain, and tenfold the amount in question is claimed back. The rich dead have piles of stones placed over their graves, whilst the poor are simply deposited in the ground; all the objects used by deceased are put in his grave. It is a great country, and it has about thirty others subject to its behests, including K'ang-kü, Khoten, Sha-lêh (apparently the same as Su-lêh, 'Kashgar'), Parthia (perhaps meaning the Persian satrapy), etc. From the year 456 (when the Toba capital was in Shan Si) they frequently sent tribute, and in 524 (when the capital was in Ho Nan) they sent a lion as far as Kao-p'ing (South Shan Si); their envoy remained there until we had crushed a rebellion which was then going on." After 524 there was an end to their offerings at the Toba Court, but in 525 a Yeh-t'ah envoy, named Chu Kao-hwei, was elected by the revolted populace of Ho Chou (part of old Yüeh-chi land) as King for a short time; and these events will turn out to have significance in connection with Hwah State.

The same chapter on the Turkestan countries goes on to say that in 516 the Emperor sent one Wang Fuh-tsz, with a certain Sung Yün and a *sramana* named Fah Lih in his charge, on a mission to the Western Regions, to make inquiry for Buddhist *sūtras*. There was a *sramana* named



Hwei-shêng who went with them. They returned during the period 520-524. (The chapter on Buddhism simply states that the Emperor sent Hwei-shêng for books, and that he came back in 527.) The admission is specifically made that "they returned, having been unable to properly acquaint themselves with all about the various countries *through which Hwei-shêng had passed*; together with the mountains, rivers, and distances—only stating all this in a sketchy way."

The *Wei Shu* makes the following very precise statements regarding the country between Khoten and Cabul, which I take out from opinions expressed by that distinguished Buddhist scholar, the late Bishop Bigandet of Rangoon, and from statements found in Dr. Eitel's "Dictionary of Buddhism":

"The Yeh-t'ah State is 1,500 li (500 miles) distant from Ts'ao State (Tsâukûta, the region round Ghazni). Subject to the Yeh-t'ah is Chu-kü or Chukü Po, on the road from Khoten to Yarkand, with language like that of Khoten—all Buddhists. (Dr. Albrecht Wirth informs me that *pa* is a Tibetan sign of the plural.) Subject to the Yeh-t'ah is also Koh-p'an-t'o (Khavanda, in the modern Kargalik region), which is west of the Chu-kü, and east of the Onion Range; the (Yarkand) river runs north-east through their land, which is lofty, and has hills covered with snow in summer. Subject to the Yeh-t'ah and west of Koh-p'an-t'o is Poh-ho (some such sound as Patkha is probably intended). This State is colder still, with endless snowy mountains; both men and beasts live in caves. One road goes west towards Yeh-t'ah, and one south-west towards Wu-ch'ang (Udyâna, or Swat). South-west of Poh-ho is Po-chi (probably the same as Poh-chi, south of K'a-seh-ni or Ghazni). South of Po-chi (? Baktri), and in allegiance to the Yeh-t'ah, is Shê-mi, with mountains traversed with the help of iron chains; *but Sung Yün failed in his attempt to get there*. East of this is Poh-lu-leh (elsewhere Poh-lu-lo, perhaps the same as Po-lu, already identified with Bolor, on the north bank of the Indus). South of Shê-mi is Udyâna, north of

which are the Ts'ung-ling (Onion Range), and southwards to T'ien-chuh (the Panjâb); south-west are the T'an-t'êh Mountains (the Dantalôkagiri, near Varucha or Pah-lu-sha, which is perhaps the same as, but is in any case close to, Fu-lu-sha and Pu-liu-sha; = Puruchapura or Peshawur). Kan-t'o State (the same as Kan-t'o-lo, Kien-t'o-lo or Gândâhar; the general history book, or *Kang Kien*, says that *both Sung Yün and Hwei Shêng got there*) is west of Udyâna, and was originally called Yeh-po, until the Yeh-t'ah conquered it and changed its name (Yeh-po is also mentioned during the fifth century as coming to China by sea). Its King was originally a Ch'ih-lêh (*i.e.*, Tölös, or early Ouïgour), and two generations of them reigned; there were three years war with Kipin (Cophene)."

The Toba dynasty at last split up into eastern and western divisions, each ruled by a *maire du palais*. These rival *maires* soon dethroned their puppets, and proceeded to set up rival dynasties of their own; the eastern dynasty Ts'i (550-557) propping up the remains of the Geougen, and the western dynasty Chou (555-581) supporting the Turks, then in full revolt against their Geougen masters. The Turks are clearly stated to have been of Hiung-nu descent, and to have grown into a power almost exactly on the spot where the Yüeh-chi had been first heard of by the Chinese. At last a vigorous Chinese general, afterwards created Duke of Sui, overthrew, first of all Chou, which had destroyed T'si; and then the fourth southern dynasty, called Ch'ên, thus once more reuniting China under the Sui dynasty (581-618), before long to be superseded by the T'ang house (618-908).

The Yeh-t'ah continued to send to Western Wei and to their successors the Chou at modern Si-an Fu the missions (553 and 560) they used previously to send to the undivided Tobas; but "after this," says the *Peh-Shi*, "they were broken up by the Turks, and their tribe settlements were scattered, so that tribute ceased." The *Chou Shu* introduces a new way of writing the word, which seems

to be intended for *Hiet-t'ah*, and it makes the singular statement that Persia is "another kind of Yüeh-chi stock."

The *Sui Shu* (compiled about 630) now takes the matter up, and writes the word "Yih-tah" with characters which are still pronounced "Eptal" in Corean (*i.e.*, ancient) Chinese. Nothing new is stated of the country except that they sent tribute once (probably in ignorance of the establishment of a new dynasty), and were shortly afterwards placed by the Turks under the administration of a *shêh* (*i.e.*, a *shad*, or Turkish Governor). These *shad* were usually *yeh-lu*, *i.e.*, *jabgu*, and both these words occur in the Sogdo-Aramæan form of inscriptions in the Turkish language recently discovered on the banks of the Orkhon and the Irtysh. As Dr. Hirth has pointed out, the ancient word *hik-hou* of the Yüeh-chi satrapies, is equally capable on well-established etymological grounds of being pronounced *jabgu*.

It must here be noted that the *Wei Shu*, which treats of a period anterior to the first appearance of the Turks under that name, several times mentions distances calculated from the Turkish ordo (on the Yulduz River in Kuldja). In the same way the *Sui Shu* mentions the Franks in reference to a period anterior to the possible arrival of the word "Frank" in China—at least in connection with Frankish imperial power. Accurate though the Chinese histories are, they are all exceedingly defective in this respect; being invariably a generation or a century or two retrospective, they jumble up old information with new, and introduce words and names, both which did not yet exist and which had ceased to exist, in connection with persons and places covered by one given historical period. It is as though a modern Frenchman were to talk indiscriminately of Mercia and Leicestershire, Burgundy and Dijon, Decia and Austro-Hungary, Muscovy and Vladivostock. As a matter of fact, we all do so in Europe, and know how to make mental reserves in our own sphere; it is no worse than our talking of "England under Queen

Boadicea"; but when the Chinese do the same thing in Asiatic affairs, our unfamiliarity with the languages and literatures concerned leads us into a maze of doubt and confusion. We must do the best we can, and each build upon and improve his predecessor's work.

The word "Ephthalite" now practically disappears from Chinese political history. The last mentions of it are as follow: The old *T'ang Shu*, in describing Cophene, repeats the old story of its once having belonged to Ta Yüeh-chi, and, in narrating the events touching the ejection of the latter from their ancient habitat near Kan-chou (B.C. 200), curiously enough ascribes their defeat to the Turks (first heard of A.D. 500). The new *T'ang Shu* says that it was after Ta Yüeh-chi had been turned out by the Wu-sun that they crossed west over Ta-wan, and later on subdued Ta-hia, "the modern T'u-ho-lo" (Tokhara). It goes on to say: "Yih-tah State is of the Ta Yüeh-chi seed in Han times. Yeh-t'ah is the King's family name. Later descendants applied this name to the State itself, and out of this grew the erroneous forms Yih-tah and Yih-t'ien. Their manners resemble the Turkish." This new form *t'ien* thus actually gives us the desired syllable *tel*, e.g., *consun* for "consul."

It is worth while noticing the word *tuchâra*, which, according to Eitel, means "a country of ice and frost." He adds that the Arabs still call Badakshan by the name of "Tokharestan," and suggests identity with the "Toc-haroi" of the Greek authors. The Chinese first mention the word in the *Wei Shu* and in the *Peh Shü*, or "Northern History" (for 380-580). Its capital is 500 li (170 miles) west of the Onion Range; to the south lies Ts'ao (around Ghazni); to the west Sih-wan-kin (Samarcand), south of which last are the K'a-seh-na (Ghazni) Hills; to the east is Fan-yang (Banyân). In this State is Poh-t'i city (? Baktri), 60 li in circuit; and south of the city there is a great river running west, called the Han-lou (? Helmund, running into Lake Hamoon). The people are Buddhist,

and live promiscuously with the Yih-tah. Several brothers have one wife, sleeping with her in turn, each hanging his coat outside as a sign that he is there; but the children belong to the eldest brother.

The *T'ang Shu* repeats part of the above, and says that the country was south of the Wu-hu (? Ochus), and that in 656-660 their city of A-hwan (? Affghan, a word which, according to Bellew, came into use as a tribal designation about now) was made the headquarters of the Yüeh-chi Proconsulate, adding that in 712-756 their King was made (Turkish) *jabgu* of Tokhara and King of Yih-tah. A city on the sea, called Ch'i-san, is mentioned as being under this proconsulate, and it is remarkable that another city, with exactly the same name, identified somewhat hazardously by Dr. Hirth with (Ale)*xandria*, is stated to be much farther west, in the region of Syria.

The anachronisms of the later Chinese, such as in speaking of ancient Hiung-nu as Turks, are paralleled by those of the Syrian, Greek, Armenian, and Arab writers, who, as M. Drouin shows, talk of the Ephthalite Khatun, the Khagan of China, the Turks of early Sassanide times, and so on. Our use of the word "Cathay" for "China" is really just as irregular.

It must here be mentioned that there are strong continuous evidences from Chinese literature of the intimate and radical family relationship of the Samarcand, Ferghana, Wusun, and Ephthalite Princes. But this question will be discussed in another paper when we come to the story of Hun migrations and Attila's invasion of Europe. In the year 629 the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hsien-chwang started out from modern Si-an Fu on a journey similar to that of Fah Hien in 399, returning, also by land, in 645. He found the Western Turk, Jabgu Khagan, at Ming-bulak, near Issek-kul, and after a long interview with him passed on to Talas and Tashkend. The Turks "worshipped fire." Sutrichna (West Fergana) and Samarcand were under their own Princes, who recognised Turkish suzerainty; and

he also found, a hundred (English) miles west of Samarcand, the country of Kwei-shwang-nik, formerly part of K'ang-kü. (The *T'ang Shu* tells us that this region was a little later made a Chinese *chou*, or city, called Kwei-shwang Chou.) From this he turned south to Tokhara and Bokhara, and thence to Bamyân. A large number of other Chinese pilgrims wandered over Asia at about this time, but mention of the Yüeh-chi and the Yeh-t'ah in standard history now entirely ceases. The *Yih-t'ung-chi*, or "Universal Geography" of the reigning Manchu dynasty, identifies Ai-wu-han (Afghanistan) with the ancient Yüeh-chi and Yeh-t'ah, adding that the capital of the former was north of the Oxus, whilst that of the latter was south of the Wu-hu (? Ochus). The above digest comprises, I believe, all the real historical evidences obtainable from Chinese sources. If I have interlarded it with explanatory remarks, it is only to enable the reader to take the subject in more readily without the trouble of references. Of course I have the whole original text translated, but British publishers object to the labour of reproducing so much "stodgy" matter. *Hinc illa compressio.*

On this evidence I propose the following provisional conclusions. The Ephthalites were certainly not Tibetans, contrary to what Dr. Albrecht Wirth has asserted. The largest Chinese nomad term, "Hu," absolutely excludes all Tibetan taint, and almost as absolutely excludes the Coreans and Manchus; it is rarely, if ever, applied to Genghizide Mongols; it includes Hindoos, Persians, Syrians, and even Singalese; but probably only because (so far as the Chinese knew) these peoples appeared to be ruled by Hu, *i.e.*, "Turanian," or An-irân dynasties. In this widest sense "Hu" seems the equivalent of our "Scythian." But although Turks, Ephthalites, Wu-sun, etc., are each most specifically called Hu, the word "Hu" is often generally used in contrast to each same specific Turks, Ephthalites, Wu-sun, etc. "Hiung-nu" is a narrower term than Hu, and excludes not only Hindoos,

Persians, Syrians, Singalese, Coreans, Tibetans, and Manchus, but in a way it negatively excludes even Wu-sun and Ephthalites, who are never pointedly said to be "a kind of Hiung-nu." Turks, Ouigours (who spoke Turkish), and even Geougen, are expressly derived from the Hiung-nu, but no Turk or Geougen is ever called an Ouigour; no Ouigour or Geougen is ever called a Turk. When I come to deal with the Huns, Avars, etc., I think I shall be able to show that they were all Hiung-nu, and I take it that Scythians, Huns, and Hiung-nu are practically reshuffles of the same people, all speaking some form of what (since in or about 540 the national word "Turk" was invented) we call Turkish. It is just as the expression "Germanic tribes" includes the Swedes, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, Franks, Germans, etc., all in different degrees; they are all what the Americans call "Dutchmen," or analogous in the spirit of language to "Hu." There does not seem ever to have been a time within historical memory when the line of pasture between China and the Volga, between the Siberian tundras and Tibet, was occupied by any nomad peoples but what we call Turks and Tartars. Sometimes Tibetans and mixed Tunguses (not Manchus) may have been the ruling caste, but the tent settlements have always been Turkish. The word "Tartar," which no European can intelligibly define, seems, in its Chinese forms *Ta-ta*, *Ta-ta-êrh*, *Ta-tsz*, to belong strictly to Mongols, or to Tung-hu (*i.e.*, Eastern Hu), who were not of Manchu race. As the nomads conquered in any direction, so by marrying the captured women they have always modified their type. I take it the Wu-sun and Ephthalites were not recognised as Hiung-nu by the Hiung-nu and Chinese, for the same reason that the Ouigours and Kirghiz were not recognised as Turks by the Turks and Chinese. To this day (I understand) the Turks of Europe reject such a national appellation, and call themselves "Osmanli."

It would be rash to assert that the words Yüeh-chi, Yeh-t'ah, Yih-tah, Yih-t'ien, Hieh-t'ah, are positively one and the

same from an etymological point of view; but as, according to M. Drouin, Greeks, Persians, Arabs, and Armenians use such diverse forms as Ephthalites, Nephthalites, Abdels, Heithals, Idâls, Itâls, Haithals, Heyâthelites, Hephthals, Thetalians, etc., the Chinese assumption does not seem impossible. That the earlier Greeks, Persians, etc., styled them Kushans and Korrans is fully explained by the Chinese statements that they styled themselves Kwei-shwang, and that the Chinese deliberately kept up an obsolete name. Nothing is more likely than that later arrivals of Yüeh-chi resuscitated the old name in the form Yeh-t'ah, as it suited modified Chinese dialects, just as modern Italians reject such national appellations as "Naples" or "Piedmont," and modern Coreans reject "Corea" in favour of the older "Chaosien."

During the two centuries of time when the Tobas ruled North China and native Chinese dynasties ruled South China (say 380-580), the latter had little or nothing to do with Central Asia. The *Nan Shih*, or Southern History (by the same author—died 650—as the *Peh Shih*), distinctly says: "Though since the Tsin (ended 420) and Sung Dynasties (420-479) missions from the Western Regions have occasionally come, still, it is difficult to know much about those places." The Liang Dynasty (502-557) was a particularly religious and literary one; possibly for that reason two missions from Persia are mentioned (533, 535), and one from Khavanda (546). These missions were all subsequent to the innumerable Persian wars with the Ephthalites (427-513), yet anterior to the destruction of the Ephthalites by the Persians and Turks (556). But the *Liang Shu* or history (compiled A.D. 630) introduces quite a new country called Hwah, which had never been heard of before and never has been since; but which seems, notwithstanding, to bear strongly upon the subject of our Ephthalites. It describes this mysterious State as being "another kind of Kū-shih" (i.e., of ancient Hiung-nu subjects, or Turks of modern Turfan). It goes on to say



that "in the year A.D. 126 a certain Pah Hwah (apparently one of the rival Kii-shi Princes) assisted General Pan Yung (son of Pan Ch'ao) against the Hiung-nu (this man Pah Hwah is mentioned (chap. cxviii., p. 20) in the Later Han history), for which service he was recommended for a mediatized marquisate." "During the Wei and Tsin Dynasties"—it goes on to say—" (220-420) this branch of the Kii-shi had no relations with China; but in the year 516 the King Yen-tai I-lih-t'o for the first time sent a tribute envoy; and in the year 520 a second mission was sent, with presents of yellow lions, white sable coats, and Persian embroidered stuffs. A mission was once more sent in the year 526. During the period (386-495) when the Toba Wei Dynasty (386-534) were still on the Sang-kan River (*i.e.*, at Ta-t'ung Fu), Hwah was still a petty State, and under the Geougen; but afterwards, gaining strength, it sent expeditions against neighbouring States, such as Persia, P'an-p'an (*sic*), Cophene, modern Kharashar, Kuche, modern Kashgar, Kumêh (near Aksu), Khoten, Kii-p'an, etc., extending its domain over 1,000 li (*sic*). The territory is mild and warm, with many mountains and rivers, trees, and the various grains. The natives use parched wheat and mutton (or goat) flesh as provision. Their beasts include lions, two-footed (*sic*) camels, and wild asses with horns (*sic*). The men are all good archers, and wear small-sleeved full-length gowns, with gold and jade in their belts. The women wear capes, with horns of carved wood on their heads, six feet (*sic*) in length, ornamented with gold and silver. Women being few, brothers join in one wife. There are no cities or towns, felt houses serving as homes, and with doors facing east. The King sits on a golden throne, turning in the direction of the *t'ai-sui* (twelve alternate starry divisions of the sidereal year), and receives guests sitting in company with his wife. They have no written characters, but use wood as tally-signs. When they correspond with adjoining States, they employ the Hu of adjoining states to do Hu writing, sheepskin serving as paper. They have no graded officials. They serve the

god of heaven and the god of fire. Every day they go out at the door and worship the god, after which they eat. Their kneeling consists of one obéissance only. In burials they use wood for coffins. When parents die, the sons cut off an ear, and when the burying is over it is counted lucky. Their talk needs the interpreting of Ho-nan (*i.e.*, old Yüeh-chi land or modern Ordoš) men to be understood."

The *Liang Shu* then enumerates a few of Hwah's subject States, some of which are never mentioned elsewhere; but one, Hu-mih-tan (of which no further particulars are given), suggests Hiu-mih (one of the five ancient Yüeh-chi States), and the later Hu-mih (or Tamasthiti, according to Eitel) of Tokhara. Another, Peh-t'i, "six days to the east," is stated to be of Hiung-nu origin; and, certainly, 700 years before this there was a Hiung-nu tribe of that name, but near China. However, in describing Khoten, Khavanda, Persia and Kuche, the same history says nothing of their subjection to Hwah; but it does say that Hwah was east of Persia and west of Khavanda.

All this strange account is copied by the *Nan Shih*, and no other history at any date alludes to such a country. Nor do Fah Hien, Hsien-chwang, or any other pilgrims, mention it. The account is all very interesting and suggestive, and certainly there is a good deal in it that suggests the Ephthalites; moreover, it will be remembered, even the *Wei Shu* mentions twice that the Yeh-t'ah and Gándâhar rulers were supposed by some to be of Ouigour stock. But the whole story sounds apocryphal, and there is quite as much manifest error as good sense in it, quite apart from the fact that no authority is given by the *Liang Shu*, and no man from either South China or North China is ever said by it to have been in the north-west during the Liang Dynasty. Some European writers have transcribed the plain words "Yen-tai" as Yeh-t'ah, on the ground that the New *T'ang Shu* (composed four centuries later!), calls Yeh-t'ah an eponymous name; and have made I-lih-t'ò part of a transmissible title; they have then proceeded to

identify Hwah with the Ephthalites, and to make the Geougen destroy these supposed Ephthalites. Unfortunately for this view, the Geougen are never once mentioned as having set foot in Transoxiana, and, though they menaced the Ta-yüeh-chi, so far from their ever having subdued the Yeh-t'ah, their pretender or rival Khan Brahman, when pressed by the Toba hosts in 520, threw himself upon the Ephthalites for protection, his three sisters having been given as wives to the Ephthalite King, which compliance is surely rather the obsequious relation of a slave than the condescension of a master. Besides, no Arab, Persian, or Armenian author appears to have once mentioned these supposed Geougen masters of the dreaded Ephthalites who fought the Persians hard for a whole century. Between 507 and 520 the Yeh-t'ah several times sent tribute to North China in company with Persia, Khoten, Khavanda, Chu-kiip'an, Kashgar, Poh-chi, etc.; but the *Wei Shu*, which enumerates more western States than all other histories combined, says nothing of Hwah; yet it does mention the Yeh-t'ah domination over the States which the *Liang Shu* says belonged to Hwah. The *Liang Shu* (general record) says that the Hwah King An-loh Sah-tan sent an envoy with tribute in 525. True, Liang and Wei were then at war; but, as we have seen, the Yeh-t'ah sent tribute to Wei in 524, and in 525 an Ephthalite named Chu Kao-hwei was elected King of the old Yüeh-chi country of Ho-si.

The most probable solution is this: During the fierce war then raging between North and South China, some Turkestan envoys, some of which the *Wei Shu* admits, were detained by the war, managed to get through to Nanking, or to the Liang Emperor then in the field, telling him a confused story, or telling it to the Liang officials, who were totally ignorant of the real state of affairs in the Far West, and simply noted down a jumble of strange yarns as best they could. It is unreasonable to accept this totally unsupported story as evidence of the same quality as that of northern histories. I have rarely found

good cause to reject a deliberate Chinese historical statement, but I cannot accept this exceptionally unsupported tale of Hwah.

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NOTE.—On p. 354 of the April number I stated that "Brahman's three wives were all Ephthalite women." It should be, "Brahman's three sisters were all Ephthalite wives,"—a very important difference. The mere name "Brahman" points to Buddhist influence by way of the Ephthalites, or it may be one of the Parthian or Persian royal names, such as, M. Drouin tells us, the Kushans borrowed for their own use. The Geougens would thus imitate their friends the Kushans.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Tuesday, April 29, 1902, a paper was read by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., on "South Africa and India." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: The Countess of Shrewsbury, Lady Griffin, Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., G.C.I.E., General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.I.E., G.C.I.E., Major-General Sir Gerald Morton, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.M.G., General Sir Edward Buller, Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir M. M. Bhowaggee, K.C.I.E., M.P., Major-General J. K. Strutt, Colonel N. M. T. Horsford, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A., Mr. Kern, Captain Gilbert T. Key, R.N., Colonel Champersowne, Mr. Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., Mr. A. J. Lawrence, C.I.E., Mrs. H. E. Glass, Mr. H. D. Cama, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. L. N. Banaji, Mr. Peter Pillai, Miss Helen Gregory, Professor Murison, Mr. J. E. Champney, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Edgcumbe, Mr. Frank Safford, Mr. H. Mussenden, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. G. Newell, Mr. R. H. Wilson, Mr. Jayar Rao, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: As this is the first public meeting we have held since the death of our dear friend and colleague, Sir Richard Temple, who so long was the President of this Association, I wish to express on behalf of the Association, so many members of whom are present, our great sorrow and regret at his death. He was a man of immense energy and versatility, and in his time did great service to the Empire in many ways. By this Association, which he was always ready to assist, his loss is sincerely deplored. It is a matter of congratulation that we have in his place Lord Reay, whose deep culture and wide intellectual sympathies make him an ideal President of our Association, though my fears suggest that he is not going altogether to agree with the paper at the reading of which he has consented to preside. (Applause.)

The paper was then read. The perusal of the following report of the discussion on this paper will be of much interest to our readers.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON: With much of what the lecturer has said I am in agreement. I suppose the point where we differ, and differ very profoundly, is that he has slipped down about 15 degrees in latitude too far south. I know South Africa pretty well. My knowledge dates from before the war, but still it is fairly recent. I think I may say I know Central Africa pretty well. I have always been a very strong advocate of the Indianizing of East Central Africa. Those vast uninhabited regions, well supplied with water, and with a fairly good soil, to my thinking constitute themselves the America of the Hindu—a land that may fairly be thrown open to the surplus population of India.

As regards all Africa south of the Zambesi, I believe, perhaps wrongly, that it is destined to become in the main a white man's country. There will probably be for all time a black population, which will probably be able to take their due share of the work that is allotted to all of us in this world. The negroes of South Africa will devote themselves to such forms of labour as are not perhaps suited to the white man in a climate that is several degrees warmer than the average climate of Northern Europe. But I believe, all the same, that, in spite of discouragement here and there, it is possible for the white race to increase and multiply, and even to become a very potent race in Africa south of the Zambesi. Even far up into the tropics the land rises so much away from the coast that it neutralizes the greater heat caused by the greater proximity to the tropical sun. I should like to see restrictions, as far as possible, removed so as to permit the merchants of India, especially of Southern India, to mingle freely with other populations who are British subjects in South Africa. I think India has done a great deal to develop the trade of Natal; but even if I believed it was not possible for the white race to become the effectual possessors of South Africa, I should certainly think it was about the most dangerous policy one could advocate at the present time to encourage the invasion of South Africa by natives of India; I believe if that were put forward with anything like emphasis, and adhered to by a large section of people at home, it would unite, quite wrongly, perhaps, the whole of the Dutch and English and German settlers in South Africa against the British Government. It would unify South Africa in a very disagreeable sense to us.

With reference to north of the Zambesi, I am at one with the lecturer. I think a very great work lies for the natives of India in that direction. Perhaps I was the first person to introduce the Indian soldier into Central Africa south of the Soudan, and the Indian soldier, in very small numbers, has completely solved our problems there. It was the Sikhs, and the Sikhs only, under our officers who crushed the very powerful Arab confederacy. It was Sikhs and Pathans who in a few months brought the Soudanese mutiny to an end. The Indian trader cannot be sufficiently praised for the way in which he is now developing Uganda, creating trade where no trade existed, building hotels on once desolate parts of the White Nile.

I think a great deal might be done legitimately by both the Imperial and Indian Governments to encourage the emigration of the natives of India to the west parts of East Africa—parts well endowed by Nature, but owing to disastrous wars practically depleted, depopulated. We must not forget that there are many parts of Uganda and East Africa where there is an abundant native population with every claim to remain in possession of the soil, that possession having been guaranteed to them at the time they invited the British Protectorate. It is amongst these people that the Indians are now circulating and creating a trade which natives of our own country were too indolent or too proud to develop at first. The Indian comes first. He is followed by the German, and when the trade is really worth the consideration of capitalists, then the British capitalist comes on the scene, so that in a manner all work together for the general good of the Empire and of the world.

I should hesitate, whilst so much can be done in tropical Africa by Indians, to dissipate our forces by doing anything more in regard to the Indian settlement of South Africa. I should like personally to see all possible restrictions removed. Nobody has a higher opinion of, or a keener sympathy with, the native of India than I have; but I think we should be wasting our energy in that direction at present, and could far more profitably employ them if we did everything reasonable to encourage the immigration into Central Africa of the natives of India.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: There can be no two opinions about the excellence of the language of the lecture to which we have listened; but I confess that I have been at a loss to understand whether the lecture is given from the point of view of the native of India who is to emigrate to Africa, or of the African colonist, into whose service it is found desirable that the native of India should enter. These are two vastly different standpoints, and must admit of the treatment of this important subject in two very different ways. Of course, if Sir Lepel Griffin is the spokesman just now for the colonist and the so-called white emigrant from Europe into Africa, there can be scarcely any objection to the suggestions that he has made. On the other hand, taking the subject from the point of view of the native of India, I must frankly admit that he has placed the question on a very low level indeed. Have we come to this—that in regard to the treatment of 300,000,000 of people of the Indian Empire in any part of His Majesty's dominions we are to speak of them collectively as a population to be differentiated from the white man? If so, I am bound to say that that manner of treating the question is an injustice to India. (Hear, hear.) Has it come to this, after all, that these men of an admittedly ancient, noble civilization, which, as the lecturer said, has furnished to the world eminent poets and philosophers and law-givers, are to be treated within the jurisdiction of the British Empire as different human beings from the man who is covered with a white skin? I admit that the feeling of trade unionism, to which Sir Lepel Griffin has referred as accountable for the difficulty, might be, to some extent, justified in creating special spheres of labour for those who have borne the brunt and burden of founding new colonies for themselves. If populations from Europe have gone forth into waste regions, and established a system of law and order, and new fields for their industry, I am entirely free to confess that it would be an injustice to them to thrust upon them a body of men who might be accustomed to live more economically, whose habits are more thrifty, and, therefore, whose wages are upon a lower scale. That would be perhaps unfair competition. But the burning question in India with regard to Africa and the colonies is the treatment that has been given there to the native populations of India generally. It is not an economical, but a political, question. The economic pretence is brought forward in defence of a position taken up by the colonists, which is untenable in the case of any British subject. The class of people who might be called Indian pauper emigrants, who, because they cannot make a subsistence in their own country, and therefore find it necessary to go out to other fields of labour, might be placed under certain covenants, and, if you please, justifiable

restrictions. But I do not see why any British subject from India who can pay his way into a colony should suffer any humiliation, or disqualification, or disabilities. (Hear, hear.) I understand from Sir Lepel Griffin's well-known advocacy of the rights of the natives of India that his paper is not intended to justify in the slightest degree the disabilities which are imposed upon British Indian subjects in the colonies of the British Empire.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: I have drawn up more than one protest to the Secretary of State on that subject.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I am aware of that, but the object of my remarks is to make that clear. Here in England the natives of India are esteemed. They are loyal subjects. They are docile subjects. Their intelligence, their moral and intellectual qualities, have been praised up hill and down dale. There are great men in India. There is a large class of educated men, some of whom will come as honoured guests of the King at the Coronation, who have given of their best in the work of carrying on Britain's war against the Boers. And, still, what would be the position of any one of them if he crossed over into, say, Natal or Cape Colony? He would be treated on the same level as a coolie. He would not be allowed to walk upon the footpaths, and be subjected to other humiliating restrictions. (Shame.) Therefore I say, when the subject of India and Africa is at all touched upon, let there be no mistake; let it be understood that the views enunciated on the great authority of Sir Lepel Griffin, and under the auspices of this Association, are simply confined to economical considerations as to the manner in which pauper emigration from India shall take place into Africa, and have no bearing on the question of the general treatment of the British Indian subjects who may choose to walk into or out of any part of His Majesty's colonies. Sir Lepel Griffin has said that the more serious grievances of the Indian natives are being swept away with the departure of the Boers.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: In the Transvaal.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I confess to a feeling of disappointment that even now, after the Boer influence has entirely gone and been replaced by a new British administration, and under even so powerful and influential and sympathetic an administrator as Lord Milner, I see no prospect for the relief of Indians from these humiliations and disabilities. A word of warning at the present juncture is essential. I trust Sir Lepel Griffin will not blame me for making these remarks, if my words were to make it plain that his paper by no means justifies the treatment which the British Indian subjects had under the régime of the Boers, and which they are continuing to receive under the new régime of the British. I trust that this warning will reach the authorities, so that by the time the final settlement comes to be effected they may realize that the native British subjects of India claim from Imperial statesmen and from British legislators that fair treatment in all parts of His Majesty's dominions to which they are entitled as citizens of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

MR. J. D. REES had heard with some surprise the speech of Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree. He had never heard any speaker who had done more to place the people of India on their proper level—a high level



of character and intelligence—than Sir Lepel Griffin. The paper seemed to him full of sympathy with the people of India. He thought that Sir Lepel Griffin had somewhat underestimated the insuperable difficulties there would be in establishing any great system of State-aided emigration from India to South Africa, not only because the natives of India would go where they wanted to go, and would not go where they did not want to go, but also because Europeans in Africa would not receive them and work with them, because they were so industrious and frugal. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree had referred to this as if it was a difficulty which the Government could put right. But the new Administration in the Boer Republics had hardly begun its work, and everything could not be put right in a minute. It was clear that no British Government would wish to continue the restrictions at present existing. But the British Government could not now, or at a later date, dictate to the colonies what they were to do. The question was purely economical, and in no sense political. No doubt the colonists unjustifiably confounded the Indians with the natives of South Africa, in a way which was only too common in this country. At the same time, their objection was a real one—viz., that the Indians brought down the rates of labour to next to nothing, and the white man could not live beside the Indian. The lecturer had said that the Boers would not work when slavery was abolished; but was it the case in South America, in India, and elsewhere, when slavery had been abolished, that work had come to an end? What had happened, he understood, was that the actual conditions had only slightly altered, and that the alteration had been more nominal than real. Then Sir Lepel Griffin had said we should never forget the abuse we received from the press of foreign nations. He hoped, however, we should not forget our own superior and unpleasant ways towards foreign nations; and he thought that, when we remembered what had taken place during the Dreyfus case, which was no affair of ours, we should cry quits in that respect. There could be no doubt, he thought, as to the advisability of getting Indians into Africa. They were admirable miners, and would no doubt make valuable colonists; but he doubted whether they would come in very large numbers, and it must be admitted that they had not been treated so well as to make it likely that many more would be anxious to leave their homes in India. It was by no means certain that the population of India was so redundant as had been assumed in the lecture. The rate of progress was slower than in European countries. The fact was that, owing to their customs and to their traditions, the people in the East had always been accustomed to live just up to their small earnings, and they had never taken the trouble to make more than sufficient upon which to live; consequently, even if their numbers were very greatly reduced, there would necessarily in years of scarcity be famines. He did not believe that emigration would to any great extent alter that, and in this he was confirmed by one of the greatest authorities—the Abbé Dubois, who said it was a perfect dream to suppose that anything any Government could do in India would ever permanently elevate or alter the condition of the masses, which was founded upon considerations with which the Administration was wholly unable to deal. (Applause.)

MR. PETER PILLAI said that, contrary to the representation of Mr. J. D. Rees, there had been an emigration from the Madras Presidency to the number of 400,000 farm labourers last year alone, who went to various colonies. Their unhappiness in being driven to leave their homes on account of the deepening poverty of the country and the growing wretchedness of the agricultural classes was heightened by the difficulties they experienced and the treatment which they received. There would be discontent among the 300,000,000 of people of India if Indians were not placed on an equality with the white population. The question was a very serious one, and their grievances should be redressed.

The CHAIRMAN said he desired in the first place to associate himself with what Sir Lepel Griffin had said with regard to Sir Richard Temple. They were all deeply obliged to Sir Lepel Griffin for having brought before them in his trenchant and vigorous style so important a matter. It was always an advantage to discuss Sir Lepel Griffin's opinions, because they always knew exactly what he meant. (Hear, hear.) He had the courage of his opinions, and he therefore took it in good part when he was contradicted. He was not sure that the paper had not been written chiefly with a view to contradiction. (Laughter.) They must not confuse two things. The *free* emigration of the inhabitants of British India into any colony was not the question before the meeting. How Indian subjects were to be dealt with when they entered a colony of their own free will was a matter of very great importance; and no doubt they would in that room agree that all British subjects should enjoy the same rights in any part of the Empire. But the paper dealt with a totally different subject, namely, with the question of State-aided or State-organized immigration. He believed he was right in quoting the lecturer as saying that the Imperial and Local Governments of India should give every assistance in their power to an organized immigration into the colonies. On that point he entirely agreed with what had fallen from Sir Harry Johnston. He thought the complications in South Africa were at present quite sufficient, and ought not to be increased by the fresh complication of a vast immigration of Indian subjects, however desirable it might be. They must remember they were dealing with self-governing colonies, as the paper admitted, though that self-government in South Africa was temporarily in suspense. The Government had told them repeatedly that they were looking forward to a time when self-government would be given back to the South African colonies. Could any controversy be more serious than a controversy with regard to State-aided immigration, supposing the self-governing colonies were opposed to it? He was not entering into the question of whether they would be right or wrong. The essence of self-government was that you might do what seemed right or what seemed wrong to others. It might provoke a controversy between the Home Government and the self-governing colonies of a very serious nature. How could they deal, for instance, with the question of the franchise? How could they interfere with a self-governing colony if it decided that the franchise should not be given to their Indian fellow-subjects? He naturally agreed with all that had been said with regard to their admirable character, and the beneficial

influence they would have on the prosperity of South Africa. But no action could be taken without the consent of the self-governing colonies. There was one other delicate question to which he must allude, and that was the employment of the native Indian troops. No one had a greater regard for the Indian army than he had, and therefore when he said he thought the Government were perfectly justified in not employing Indian troops, it was not because he thought that their conduct would not have perfectly justified their employment. They all knew that the conduct and discipline of the Indian troops in the Chinese campaign had been praised by competent foreign judges. But it must not be forgotten that the chief reason why they were not employed in the present war was that it was only on condition of not employing them that the great evil was avoided of the Kaffirs being let loose on the other side. He was not saying that there was any justification for this assimilation, but that was the understanding, and therefore the Government were perfectly justified in not employing them in that campaign. He begged to propose that they should offer their best thanks to Sir Lepel Griffin for having given them a paper which bristled with controversial points, which was of the greatest interest, and which dealt with a question of very great importance. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: My Lord, I have only to express my great thanks for the very kind way in which you have spoken of my lecture, and for the criticisms which you have applied to it. I did not invite you to take the chair in the expectation that you would be entirely in agreement with me, but because I knew you would criticise it impartially. The matters regarding which we are in disagreement are exceedingly small. Those who have paid attention to my paper will have understood that this is a mere lecture of suggestion. The matter has not been put before the English public, so far as I have seen, in the press till to-day. Consequently it is but an invitation to thinking people who are interested both in India and in South Africa, to see whether there is any way out of a difficulty which may be of advantage to both countries. I have listened to Sir Harry Johnston with the greatest interest, and with agreement. I proposed, as he will remember, to leave out of the scheme for the present Cape Colony, Natal, and Zululand; indeed, I would willingly, if it were shown to be advisable, leave out Rhodesia south of the Zambesi. He thinks I have put the latitude 15 degrees too low, but that is a mere matter, as we say, of latitude. I will agree to split the difference with him, and will put it at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  degrees higher than in my paper I ventured to suggest. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree has gone off probably to the House, so I will not say of his remarks what would be superfluous; but, as Lord Reay has mentioned, he altogether appeared to confuse the argument of the lecture, and to be unable to see that I was dealing with the economical, and not with the political, question. I see Mr. Robert Needham Cust here, who read a most eloquent paper the year before last on the question of the grievances of Indian traders in South Africa. It is a question we have not neglected, nor do we forget it now; but the paper of to-day dealt with the economical situation.

The proceedings then terminated.

Another meeting was held in Westminster Palace Hotel on Monday, May 26, 1902. Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir James Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., General Phelps, Lieut.-Colonel W. P. Harrison, Mr. J. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Bram Stoker, Mr. W. Coldstream, Lieut.-Colonel Wintle, R.A., Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel Nuttall, Mrs. Glass, Mrs. Thorburn, Mrs. Leitner, Mrs. Richter, Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. and Miss Beckett, Mrs. Harley, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Ince, M.D., Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Whish, Mr. J. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. S. V. Morgan, Mr. Henry Bradford, Mr. G. S. Sharma, Mr. J. P. Varma, Mr. Kehr Singh, Mr. Charles, B.L., Mr. Cumming, Mr. Fred Pennington, Mr. E. T. Sturdy, Mr. M. B. Kolasker, Mr. M. A. Samad, Mr. M. Ismael, Mr. Charles Lyne, Mr. S. N. Chander, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. Moule, Mr. F. L. Peters, Mr. J. C. Champney, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in commencing the proceedings, regretted the absence of Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, who was to have presided, owing to illness.

A paper on "Education by Newspaper," by Mr. S. S. Thorburn, was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN desired, in the first place, to express the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, who had, in a very brilliant and incisive manner, explained what had appeared for many years to be one of the great weaknesses and drawbacks of the English administration, and also to express his own feeling of the difficulty of discussing a paper which he had not previously seen with any real effect. He would have liked to have studied the paper more closely before venturing to make any observations with regard to it. It appeared to him that the remedy which Mr. Thorburn proposed hardly covered the very large ground he had so eloquently dealt with in the first part of his paper. He did not think anyone would imagine that the Government, by starting a few papers in the different provinces, would adequately tackle the grave difficulty which the higher education of the natives was every day making more urgent and important. What had been said with regard to the discontented feeling prevalent throughout the educated classes of India was exceedingly true. They looked to the Government to find them appointments, which no Government, however benevolent and desirous, could possibly do on the enormous scale demanded. At the same time, the proposal to found such papers appeared to have very much in its favour. The English Government took far too little trouble to encourage among students practical loyalty and that high standard of character and conduct which might certainly be considered the best result of education. A little had been tried in the Punjab and elsewhere, and the experiment suggested by Mr. Thorburn might well have a trial, though he did not think it would have the great results which were anticipated. A newspaper might be published, but unless they could make the people read it, no great advantage would be gained. A State newspaper would always be received with a certain amount of suspicion; and whether confidence could be increased so as to induce people to read it was a matter which could be decided by experiment alone. He was sorry to hear that the Government now so

\* See the paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

strongly discouraged its officials writing in the Press. It was not so in his day, and he had had as much to do with writing in the Press in India as almost any civilian. Dr. Leitner and he had founded and published a journal called *Indian Public Opinion*, the first article in which he wrote, which was still flourishing under another name, and which had the merit of introducing to the world Mr. Rudyard Kipling. They certainly were not at all mealy-mouthed in their expressions of opinion on Government policy in those days. From what Mr. Thorburn said, officials seemed now to be practically gagged. If they were forbidden to convey to the public in writing, or speech, or otherwise, any opinion upon matters of Government policy likely to become the subject of public discussion, that precluded an expression of opinion on anything of interest in India. He would have thought that Lord Curzon, who was famous for his exceedingly forcible expression of opinion, would have taken early steps to remedy such an exceedingly inconvenient and unfortunate state of affairs. The more things were discussed in the public Press by men of authority and knowledge, the better for the country.

MR. DIGBY said: I must confess to a feeling of wonder at the courage with which the members of this Association tackle the most difficult of questions. Not many weeks ago, in this room, Sir Roland Wilson brought forward a proposal whereby all State education in India should come to an end, and dependence be placed wholly upon what the people could do for themselves. A more unpopular proposal, as I then said, could hardly be conceived: Now, Mr. Thorburn comes forward with a proposal more daring than that of Sir Roland Wilson. I admire his courage. A distinguished poet has spoken of

“ . . . the perils that environ  
The man who meddles with cold iron.”

But the perils of such a one could be as nothing compared with the perils which Mr. Thorburn, apparently, is prepared to lightly take in hand. I fear, before this discussion is ended, that it will be found that he is wandering in unfamiliar surroundings. He states his object on p. 1\* of his paper thus: “Government will be well advised to start cheap State-aided newspapers in every province, and thus give ‘young India’ the opportunity, hitherto denied it, of developing into good citizens of the Empire.” In this sentence he assumes that the reading of newspapers will make good citizens. As one who once had to do with journalism, I thank him for the compliment thus paid to the profession. But I do not think it is a proposition which would find immediate acceptance here. Our journals do not necessarily make good citizens; indeed, there are those who emphatically assert the contrary. Perhaps the non-success here is due to the fact that all English papers are, more or less, party papers. Mr. Thorburn, however, desires a journalism which shall be impartial—free from the vices of party journalism. If he should realize his ideal, he will make an entirely new departure, for such a thing as an impartial journal, strictly so regarded, does not at the present time exist. The ideal held out by the reader of the paper is a high one. On p. 14,† after stating that the right man as editor would be cheap at Rs. 3,000 a month, he says

\* See p. 61 of this *Review*.

† See p. 74 of this *Review*.

"Installed as editor, the Government and its officers would freely communicate with him, he publishing news and comments at his discretion in the manner which would best appeal to the minds of his readers."

I, for one, am disappointed in the paper, inasmuch as nowhere in it has Mr. Thorburn reduced his theory to practice and shown how his proposal would work. Is the editor to have a free hand? Evidently he is, for he is to publish news and comments "at his discretion." Then, in that case, it may be assumed, he would report debates in the House of Commons concerning India, Irish Home Rule debates in the same Chamber, the resolutions passed and the speeches delivered at the sessions of the Indian National Congress, and, of course, such debates as the recent one in the Viceregal Council, when Mr. Gokhale so ably and so effectively criticised the work of the Indian Administration. The Government, therefore, would circulate such a speech as that which Mr. Caine delivered in the House of Commons on February 3 last—a speech in which he criticised the damaging effect of the present policy of government—a speech which yet remains unanswered. Well, if this is to be, I, as one who in his time has thought the Government deserving of criticism, shall rejoice, for the Government will then provide for us who are critics a sounding-board which shall make the voice of criticism reverberate throughout the land, and be heard in every village. (Applause.) The editor is to act according to his discretion! Editing a Government organ, what, in the days of Lord Ripon, could he or would he have done? On the one side the whole Indian population were deeply moved; on the other side the whole Anglo-Indian community were equally moved. He would be compelled to take one side, and thus incur the enmity of the section he did not support. If he took neither side, an almost impossible position, he would have incurred the contempt of Indians and Anglo-Indians alike. It would be the same with regard to questions of vital interest to-day. As I have said, the task is one which cannot be accomplished, let one try as one may. Why, even the most absolute European monarchies have not ventured to do what is here suggested; Germany, France, and Austria would have shrunk from attempting such a scheme. In their case, too, there would have been this in their favour—rulers and ruled are of the same race; in India the rulers are alien and unloved. Success in such case could not be achieved; if the native failed, the alien would fail also. Again, I wonder if Mr. Thorburn has realized what a large number of papers would be needed in the carrying out of his object. There are eighty languages in India. Take the first twenty only, beginning with Hindi and ending with Pashtu. The following languages are spoken by the number of people given:

Hindi	...	...	86 millions.	Malayalim	...	...	5½ millions.
Bengali	...	...	41 "	Urdu (Mussulmani)	...	...	3¾ "
Telegu	...	...	20 "	Sindhi	...	...	2½ "
Marathi	...	...	19 "	Santhal	...	...	2 "
Panjabi	...	...	18 "	Western Pahari	...	...	1½ "
Tamil	...	...	15 "	Assamese	...	...	1½ "
Gujarati	...	...	11 "	Gondi	...	...	1½ "
Kanarese	...	...	10 "	Central Pahari	...	...	1 "
Uriya	...	...	9 "	Marwari	...	...	1 "
Burmese	...	...	6 "	Pashtu	...	...	1 "

At least half a dozen papers would be needed in Hindi, almost as many in Bengali, and so on through the other languages. This aspect of the matter appears to have been overlooked in the proposal as put before this meeting. There is still a further objection to Mr. Thorburn's ideal. First, it is not at all certain that the production and circulation of the very best paper which could be issued would have the effect anticipated. And meanwhile, what would be happening? The better the Government papers were, the more rapidly would they supersede the Indo-English and vernacular papers. The process might be some time in fulfilling itself. During that period, as the respective journals felt the squeeze and saw their occupation leaving them, can it be supposed their editors would accept the situation meekly? Rather would they not make the task of the Government difficult, if not impossible? While, when the process was complete, and many journalists found their occupation wholly gone, there would be let loose a band of irreconcilables, the more dangerous because the more expert in the art of criticism. No; if the present state of things be bad, the Thorburn scheme would bring about a much worse condition. My fourth and final comment upon this proposal is that an attempt has already been made to carry it out and has failed. I might say that more than one attempt has been made. The Press Commissionership has been mentioned. I will deal with that directly. Before it in time, and more nearly associated with what Mr. Thorburn has suggested, was the effort made when Sir George Campbell was Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces. I wonder that no reference has been made to it, and especially that nothing concerning it appears in Mr. Skrine's book. The attempt was made in connection with that greatest of all Anglo-Indian journalists, the late Mr. Robert Knight. Mr. Knight was not only a great journalist, he was a great economist. He had fully grasped the essential weaknesses and the great needs of the Indian Administration. His knowledge of the agricultural condition was widespread and profound. While he lived he was in his own line of economics unsurpassed by anyone in India, probably was unequalled. A position was created for him in, I believe, the Bengal Secretariat, to enable him, through a monthly journal, over which he was allowed complete control, to teach the agriculturists of India what was to be learned not only from their own part, and by one part of the Empire from the other parts, but also what the agriculture of other nations could teach them. That experiment was comparatively short-lived. So far as I remember, the exact reason for its failure has never been publicly stated. But fail it did. Perhaps, the trammels of official life being what they are, and Mr. Knight's unofficial career being what it was—that of a pioneer who could not be bound by rules and regulations—he could not bend himself to the necessities of the situation. That, however, could not have been the whole reason of the failure. Failure was inherent in the very nature of the thing, and not even an archangel of the Press, if such a being ever existed, could have made Mr. Knight's task successful, or could now make aught that would be beneficial out of the paper just read. As for the Press Commissionership, I must say that in my humble opinion the abolition of that office was a mistake on the part of Lord Ripon. The office was a most useful adjunct

to good government, while the Press Commissioner, Sir (then Mr.) Roper Lethbridge, did good service alike to the Government and to the Press. During the greater part of the existence of the Commissionership I edited a daily paper in India. There are, I believe, some people who consider that in my writings on India I say that which may be construed into criticism of Indian administration and administrators. (Amused laughter.) Well, as I write now, so I wrote then. When I conceived the policy of the Government was not conducive to the interests of the people of India, I said so, firmly, yet courteously. But that did not interfere with the maintenance of friendly relations through the Press Commissioner and in other ways. It was recognised that I spoke honestly and straightforwardly what I believed to be for the good of the country. Much information reached me which enabled me to be of some slight service to the Government on the one hand and the people on the other. This was a state of things to be maintained, not overthrown. For my experience was, I doubt not, the experience of other editors also, and it appears to me that what Lord Ripon should have done was not to abolish the Press Commissionership, but more effectually adapt it to the necessities of India. To revert once more to the proposal before the meeting. The men are not to be found who could properly work such a project. And supposing they were to be found, supposing the paper were to be produced, who could insure that it would be purchased? The circumstance that the Government was behind it might do more harm than good. Is it not the fact that certain papers in Northern India, whose subscription list is swollen by Government subsidies, are objects of contempt and not sources of confidence? The whole idea is based on a false assumption. Mr. Thorburn and those who think with him in this matter appear to be of opinion that as it was in the past so it is now, so for ever more, the British raj must be the *mabap* of the whole Indian people. It cannot be—it would not be well if it could be—that the British rulers of India shall, for all time, stand *in loco parentis* to two hundred and thirty millions of people. It is idle to think they can be kept on the prepared mental food which an alien authority may supply to them. I invite this audience to consider a nobler and a better way. If we want the Indian people to become loyal citizens of a prosperous Empire, let us regard them as our equals. Many are so already. The others would soon rise to the same height of equality. Give them fitting opportunity in their own country and they will fully prove in the future, as they have done in the past and are doing in the present, in the matter of newspapers and in other respects that make for good citizenship, they can very well take care of themselves. (Applause.) Before I sit down I should like to associate myself with what the Chairman said concerning the regret we all feel at Mrs. Steel's absence, and especially at the cause of her absence. Had Mrs. Steel been here, because of the keen insight she has displayed in the discernment of Indian character and her skill in portraying it, her opinion on such a subject as this would have been most valuable. (Applause.)

LESLEY C. PROBYN, Esq., in the chair.

MR. KEHR SINGH had come to the conclusion that there would be nothing more demoralizing to the minds of Indians than to start such a



scheme as was proposed by Mr. Thorburn—namely, to put the Press into the hands of the Government. If the whole Press were in the hands of the Government the way of thinking would be one and the same, and they could think nothing but according to the mind of the Government. If he might venture to make a suggestion it would be that liberty should be given to the Press, and considerable weight should be given to the native opinion which is expressed through the native Press. As there is no party Government in India, so in order to make a good Government we must have a strong opposition—that is, the native Press. According to Mr. Thorburn's suggestion, we all will have to adopt one policy and only one line of thinking, which is absolutely impossible, and nowhere existing in the civilized countries.

MR. CHARLES L. B. CUMMING (late Madras Civil Service), as a visitor and an old schoolfellow of Mr. Thorburn, desired to make a very few remarks. He quite agreed that there was a great amount of discontent among the unemployed educated classes of India, but he differed as to the remedy proposed—namely, establishing a newspaper subject to Government supervision and interference. He did not think the remedy would cure the disease. Nearly every district in Madras has its local paper, which was sometimes very useful in criticising the conduct of European officers. When he was Acting-Judge in Madras, the local paper often criticised his judgments, sometimes rather severely, but he never resented it. He thought the Indian Press might be allowed to grow naturally, and not be nurtured like a hot-house plant. They had the example of English papers like the *Pioneer* to guide them, and in the course of time no doubt the Indian Press would improve without nursing. At the same time, he was rather in favour of the resuscitating of the Press Commissionership. If anyone of the ability and standing of Sir Roper Lethbridge could be put into that place it would be useful as a check on the Indian Press if it were inclined to go a little too far. He thought the misplaced economy of the Government in saving the £1,000 a year, which was the salary of that appointment, was a mistake. His idea of the remedy for the discontent was not so much State-aided newspapers as that the British Government should foster industrial enterprise in India more than they did at present; that they should start technical schools, and teach the natives useful trades and employments whereby they might earn a living. They would then not be so dependent upon Government posts. The mineral resources of India were not properly exploited. It required capital, of course, but that could be obtained by encouraging rich capitalists in England to go to India and exploit the country. He was sure the natives would like to learn at the technical schools, and they would be far more interested, perhaps, than in the ordinary education in Government schools. He remembered being very much struck by a remark which was once made to him by an educated Brahmin in Madras, who said to him: "I wish, sir, that your Government would show a little more backbone. I should like to see the Bible taught in our schools." He said to the Brahmin: "Surely you do not want your children to become Christians?" The Brahmin replied: "No; but we admire the

morality of the Bible, and we think it might be made a text-book just as any other books in the schools, and it would do our boys a great deal of good." He thought secular education had a good deal to do with the discontent among the natives. They grew up discarding their own religion, and read many infidel books from America, and they did not grow up to be good citizens because to be good citizens they ought to have some idea of their duty to the State and to God.

MR. STURDY thought that if the last speaker's proposal were carried out they would also have to teach the Koran and Veda to those who believed in them. He agreed with what had been said about technical education. As long as the people of India suffer from the practical impossibility of their educated men obtaining remunerative employment outside the Government and one or two learned professions there would be discontent and a grievance. If we could only open to them the infinite number of industries, arts, sciences, pursuits, and interests which we ourselves had we should confer on them an enormous benefit. This could only be brought about through technical schools and by wide and liberal opportunity given to learn how the resources of the country and the skill of the people could be developed for the advantage both of the educated and the ignorant. Of theoretical learning the Indian people had enough.

MR. MARTIN WOOD thought the usefulness of the paper which had been read lay more in the remarks made with regard to the social and educational statistics of India. Mr. Thorburn had described the imppecunious condition of the educated part of the community. That was really at the foundation of the whole subject—the poverty of the people, except in the case of a few special classes. With regard to Mr. Thorburn's special proposal, Mr. Digby had already disposed of that. The matter had been fully discussed in the seventies, and to discuss it again was, he thought, quite to slay the slain. They had been reminded of the panic of four or five years ago which affected the official class throughout Northern India; and we are told that even now Government prohibits the diffusion of information on current matters, and that showed the reactionary way in which Indian affairs were proceeding. In Lord Northbrook's time much assistance, by circulation of financial and other information, was given to the Press. With regard to the impression given by Mr. Thorburn as to the quality of the native Indian Press, he thought it unduly unfavourable. He thought that if any impartial person would look at the *Voice of India*, which had been published for many years, he would see that the standard of the Indian Press was very much higher than had been suggested. Mr. Thorburn referred to the new Press Law of 1897. They must remember that partisan animosity—really sedition of an evil sort—was prevalent throughout all Northern and Eastern India amongst the official classes, and it was under that panic that the new Press Law was introduced, upsetting what an eminent jurist like Sir James FitzJames Stephens had settled with all deliberation many years before. The reader of the paper had sought to connect the Poona murders with the excesses of the Press, but that had been entirely disproved at the time. That was a crime that stood by itself as an act of fanaticism. Mr. Thorburn's paper, taken as a

whole, gave a good deal of valuable information, which ought to set thinking persons to inquire into the present condition of Indian affairs, especially with regard to the material condition of the people, and until that be remedied the state of affairs would get worse.

MR. N. D. DARU was not disposed to agree with Mr. Thorburn's proposal. The object he intended to attain would be equally well attained if the Anglo-Indian papers showed more sympathy towards the Indian Press. Every week he heard of two or three or more assaults by Englishmen in civil life. The Native Press commented on that, but the Anglo-Indian Press was absolutely silent. With reference to the treatment of Indians outside British India, with one or two exceptions, he thought that the whole Anglo-Indian Press was silent. That being so, it was natural that the Native Press should look with a considerable amount of distrust at the Anglo-Indian Press, and, as a consequence, at such Government measures as were advocated by that Press. They saw that the Anglo-Indian Press very often indulged in general accusations against the native community. Lately he read that some gentleman, a professor, had said that the Indian Educational Authorities could not be trusted with carrying out the examinations quite honestly—he meant the Indian teachers. When such strong observations were made against the character of the Indian people, they should at the same time see whether anything could be said in their favour.

MR. THORBURN, in reply, referred to what Sir Lepel Griffin had said with reference to the Order of 1898, which prevented officials from making any remark on a subject which might possibly at some time be under discussion by the Government. He might say that he had reason to know that the muzzling order applied to affairs outside as well as inside India. He was in 1898 authoritatively told that as a Government servant he was not at liberty to write an article criticising Government action in any part of the world. With reference to Mr. Digby's rather inconsistent speech, he seemed to be afraid that the Government would misuse its power. The way he (Mr. Thorburn) regarded the case was this: that if the representatives of the British people in India were trustworthy enough to govern, largely by moral force, something like 300,000,000 in India, they could be trusted to run honestly, for the good of the people, local papers, and by that means to supply the people in each province with that pabulum which at present was wholly denied to them. Mr. Digby had said that in no country in the world was a practice such as had been recommended in force; but he seemed to forget that every Continental Government possessed official organs, and spent largely in Press subsidies. Both Bismarck, and Dr. Leyds owed much of their influence to their "reptile funds."

A MEMBER: Why should we have the same?

MR. THORBURN said we should have no such funds; we should merely spend money economically upon the after-school education of "young India." Even Mr. Digby at the end of his speech agreed with him in part that the Government should supply information to the Press. Mr. Digby thought the office of Press Commissioner, in the original sense

of the term, should be revived. His (Mr. Thorburn's) proposal only went a step further.

The CHAIRMAN (MR. LESLEY PROBYN) said, with reference to the point mentioned by Mr. Thorburn as to the effect of the higher education of the natives of India on their employment, that one of the very cleverest natives of India came to see him thirty or forty years ago and said: "Education is a very good thing, but I do wish that when they educate the people in literature they would also teach them their trades properly." They would all agree with him that they were very much indebted to Mr. Thorburn for his very interesting paper on a most important subject, and would join in giving him a hearty vote of thanks. (Applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

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NOTE.—As the meeting was breaking up when I was called upon to reply to the criticisms passed on my suggestion, I confined my remarks to the salient objection, that Government newspapers would be Government partisans, and therefore rather mislead than enlighten public opinion. Had time permitted, I should have endeavoured to meet the other objections put forward—viz., that my scheme was (1) inadequate, and (2) would interfere with private enterprise. As to (1), it seems to me that as adequacy is largely a matter of money, and that as India is a very poor country, all that can be done is to suggest the most useful way possible for applying the few additional lakhs annually which the Government of India may be able to allot for the further instruction of the youth of India. What better and cheaper means can be suggested than that advanced in my paper? As to (2), it seems to me that, if the Government competition were to kill all the lower-class newspapers now circulating in India, both the public and the surviving better-class journals would be gainers. The Press has hitherto been starved, but with plenty of good daily bread in the shape of authentic news and comments thereon it would wax fat, and the health of the body politic would be improved. The public would know what the Government was doing, and the reasons for its actions; the editors of the surviving journals would no longer suffer from anæmia, and would

consequently be in a position to discuss affairs with full knowledge of the facts. As the object of the Government newspapers would be the establishment of a good understanding with the people, the measure of success would depend in each province on the confidence inspired by the local Government organ. Its columns would, therefore, have to be as open to independent communications as are those of our best dailies and weeklies in England.

Mr. Digby's idea that newspapers would be wanted in many languages—twenty to eighty I think he said—is extravagant. No daily is now published except in the recognised court or official vernacular of a province—the language used in all secondary schools, and spoken by all educated Indians. Nor can I agree with Mr. Digby that Government newspapers have been tried and failed. He mentions Messrs. Knight and Lethbridge, but neither had a free hand ; moreover, the former was a rigid economist, not a popular journalist, and the latter was an English professor, ignorant of the Indians and of any vernacular, and used more as a censor than a communicator of timely and interesting information to newspapers.

Three days after the meeting I received a letter from Mr. H. D. Pearsall, who had been unable to attend, in which he stated his views on after-school education by Government newspapers. He goes more into detail than may be advisable, but with the general tenor of his remarks I am in accord. He wrote that he thought that it should be "an essential feature of such papers that they should freely admit and invite independent correspondence. If this were genuinely done, it would surely go far to meet objections to the scheme. Such correspondence would, of course, be prominently headed with a notice (as in many English papers) that it was entirely independent of editorial approval.

"My view is that native comment of the freest character should be sincerely encouraged, and with this object : if

such comments contain merely arguments, not even signatures need be required, the name of a writer being required only when statements are made which would be worthless or unjustifiable if made anonymously.

"No doubt there would still remain the objection which prompts the opposition of the present press—that the competition of the Government papers would prevent journalists from making money.

"[It is interesting to note, by the way, that this objection, and the objection that Government papers would have no circulation, are mutually destructive.]

"The objection is, perhaps, not of much weight, as the interests of the people at large are so much more important than the petty gains of a few journalists; but, so far as it has any weight, would it be possible to meet it by *paying for* independent articles, or even also for letters? Such a feature would not only disarm interested opposition, but would further what I have considered should be an object of these papers—obtaining independent comment.

"One more word. Experience of English papers shows that it would be difficult for an editor to be perfectly impartial and to freely admit opinion he was opposed to. To get over this, and also to *show* the determination of the Government to admit adverse opinion, might it not even be possible to put the control of the 'open column' under a committee of a few natives, independent even of the editor?"

S. S. THORBURN.

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Another meeting was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Monday, June 9, 1902, when a paper was read by C. W. Whish, Esq. (retired I.C.S.), on "Agricultural Banks in India." Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley, the Hon. Sir Sri Swatchelapathy Runga Row Maharaja Bahadoor of Bobbili, K.C.I.E., and secretary, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I., Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., Mr. A.

Emmott, M.P., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Colonel M. Harrison, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mrs. Arathoon, Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, Mrs. Whish, Mr. A. Crawley-Boevey, Mrs. A. Buckle, Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. F. W. Fox, Miss Gawthrop, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Miss Harriott, Mr. Gordon Hewart, Mr. A. Kinloch, Mr. M. B. Kolasker, Mr. Tom Lewis, Mr. A. Wyndham McNair, Mr. J. A. Parker, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Mr. Kehr Singh, Mr. Robert Stewart, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. H. W. Wolff, Mr. Peter Pillai, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN said that those interested in agricultural banks were fortunate to-day in having a paper from Mr. Whish, who had just returned from India, where he had seen the experimental banks in practical operation. The time was also opportune for reviewing the situation because an important fresh start had recently been made in dealing with this question. He referred to the epoch-making report of the Famine Commission under Sir Antony MacDonnell. The movement in favour of agricultural banks in India had thus received a powerful impetus in two ways: first, from the strong recommendation contained in the Famine Commission's report, and, second, from the fact that that report had been accepted by Lord George Hamilton, who had moved and carried a resolution of full approval in the House of Commons. He had carefully studied the recommendations in Sir A. MacDonnell's report, and fully realized their importance; and it was because he so fully realized their importance that he ventured, in opening the proceedings, to offer two criticisms regarding them. His first criticism was that the scheme proposed was of too cut-and-dried a kind. It was, in fact, a proposal to import bodily into India the somewhat complicated co-operative system which had been adopted in Germany. To do this was to ignore the extreme differences in local conditions. It was also contrary to the advice of the Hon. Mr. Nicholson, who in his special report on agricultural banks took as his motto *Solvitur ambulando*—that was, "Try local experiments, and be guided by experience." Sir A. MacDonnell's report laid down certain hard-and-fast rules, which rendered such tentative experiments impossible. For example, those rules prescribed that no advances should be made except for agricultural improvements; that advances should be made only to members of a mutual credit association; that the liability of members should be unlimited; that there should be no paid-up capital, and no dividends on the shares. This system had been found suitable in Germany, but he could say from personal experience that such conditions precedent would be fatal to the establishment of agricultural banks in the Bombay Deccan, where they were so urgently needed. Moreover, the Famine Commission scheme practically ignored the village money-lender, who throughout India was a chief factor in the problem of agricultural finance. His second criticism was that the scheme expected too much from independent enterprise outside the money-lending class. He would ask, What did the Government do to encourage independence and public spirit? It appeared to him that the Government in India regarded independence with unmerited distrust. Year after year the

Indian National Congress had urged the establishment of agricultural banks, but their representations had been disregarded; and even the Indian Famine Union, which had the support of many experienced administrators, received but scanty recognition from the Secretary of State. While, therefore, he applauded Sir Antony MacDonnell for emphasizing the need of outside help, he would beg him to urge the Government to be a little more gracious to independent enterprise, and to foster the public spirit, without which agricultural banks could not be a success. He (the Chairman) had had the privilege of perusing Mr. Whish's paper, and desired to commend it to their best attention as being full of thoughtful observation and suggestion.

The paper was then read.\*

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT regretted that Mr. Whish had approached the subject from a very much more advanced position than he himself had reached. Mr. Whish had assumed that they all knew how the agricultural banks were created, where the capital came from, who were the members, on what principle they made their loans, and what security they had. All those were matters on which he was entirely in the dark. Mr. Whish had spoken in one place of the banks as being carried on under official supervision. If they were confined to that, they obviously could not go very far without a great increase of the official body, the existing officials being overburdened with work. But Mr. Whish also had spoken of the village community as the managing body. There again he failed to understand the exact position of the different members, and what security they would give to each other. The idea that a body of ryots, every one of whom was individually indebted, could, by combining together, create a valid security on which credit could be raised seemed to him to correspond very much with the position of those people in some South Pacific island who, they were told, existed by taking in each other's washing. It was fair to assume that almost every member of the village community was already in debt. What security would these heavily indebted people be able to give for the repayment of the money? He trusted that in the discussion which would follow some information might be given on these subjects.

The CHAIRMAN said that the scheme which had been proposed by the Famine Commission was really the Raiffeisen system of Germany. Mr. Wolff, an expert in these matters, was present, and he would perhaps briefly answer the questions which Sir Charles Elliott had put as to the methods on which the agricultural bank scheme was to be based.

MR. WOLFF regretted that his friend Mr. Dupernex was not present. He had formed something like 150 banks in the North-West Provinces within a year. He thought that one thing that they wanted, which the Government could easily give, was a good co-operative law giving the banks a legal status. He was not surprised that Mr. Whish had gone so far in his aspirations as to hope that, with the help of village banks, the communal organization of India might be transformed. Wherever these Raiffeisen banks had been established, they had led to the development of a marvellous

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.



variety of other institutions. That was one of the reasons why Mr. Horace Plunkett, who had introduced these banks with great success into Ireland, where eight years ago no one ever heard of them, now said that if he had to do his work over again he would not begin with agricultural co-operative societies, but with agricultural banks. He was not surprised that the question had been asked as to what Raiffeisen banks were. There was a great want of clearness of apprehension as to what the scheme really meant. People talked of limited liability and of unlimited liability as if the two were convertible terms. The hope had been expressed that it might prove possible to establish Raiffeisen banks with limited liability, but that was a perfect impossibility. Either they must have a small capital of guarantee, or else unlimited liability of the members. In thousands of banks spread over Europe the system of unlimited liability had proved perfectly sufficient. It had the advantage that it let in the very poorest people, putting them upon their good behaviour, and stimulated the vigilance and care which should be exercised in banking matters. It seemed particularly adapted to India, where they had remarkably honest people to deal with. The system of Raiffeisen banks was this: The members were selected as being people who could be trusted. The operation of the bank must therefore be limited to a small area, within which all were in close touch with one another. The question of real security could not arise, as it was to everyone's supreme interest that every claim should be met. The next thing to do was to inquire very carefully into the object of each loan, and into the fitness of the applicant to ask for it. The question had been raised whether people in India should be allowed to borrow money for their marriage expenses. He thought they should be left perfectly free to do so if the local committee thought proper. There seemed to be a public opinion and a traditional rule which demanded some expenditure on such occasions, and there was nobody to go to but the usurer. If the borrower could go to the bank—that meant to his neighbours, who would sit in judgment upon his application—possibly he might retrench his expenditure somewhat. Whether that were so or not, the best results would be arrived at in the case of the Raiffeisen banks by replacing a dear loan by a cheap loan, and by getting rid of the usurer. In other countries there were other claims which brought about indebtedness, but the effect was the same. The Raiffeisen banks stepped in and provided the money at a lower rate of interest, and that enabled the poor people who were crushed under a load of debt to relieve themselves of that debt and to work it off by degrees. He did not think the line ought to be drawn too tightly with regard to the particular objects. The idea of the Raiffeisen banks was that money should be lent only for reproductive or economic purposes, amongst which, in this case, he reckoned the expenses of a marriage. They did not want to lend a man money to spend on his pleasures. The Raiffeisen banks allowed practically any limit with regard to time, so as to make each loan repay itself out of what it produced without taxing other sources of income. What distinguished the Raiffeisen banks from the banks of the Schulze-Delitzsch system was that they began

without shares, and therefore without capital. The benefit obtained was really realized in the shape of money borrowed and profitably employed. There must always be a margin, and such small profit as there might be went into a collective fund, which belonged to the bank as a whole. Then, again, these banks relied almost exclusively upon personal security; nothing was pledged. In Belgium they had invented a kind of security corresponding to a bill of sale. They pledged an article, but retained the use of it, without making the matter public, as in this country. Theoretically that was very useful, but it had been very little resorted to. Stress was laid upon personal credit because it was the cheapest, the most perfect, and the most educating. The question of funds suggested another matter. People talked about starting a central bank to find the money, but that seemed to him beginning at the wrong end. Experience had taught them to build from the bottom to the top. When once they had a certain number of banks, these would find it to their advantage to form a central bank, but he thought it a mistake to begin with a central bank. He would look with suspicion upon the money grants which it was suggested should be made by the Government. He did not, indeed, think that in a country like India, with such very poor people, Government assistance could be altogether dispensed with, but it should be carefully limited to a loan for the first start, and repayment should be insisted upon. The more banks were based upon self-help the better would they thrive. His friend Mr. Dupernex seemed to think that if the wealthier people in the towns could be interested in the movement perhaps a sufficient capital would be forthcoming. It is just in this way that under the Raiffeisen system the wealthier could help the poorer without demoralizing them, and that was one of its glories, but the people who help must be very careful to insist on repayment. Wealthy people who sympathized with agricultural banks might do something to show their sympathy by joining them, and taking some of the liability and work upon their shoulders. Most of the banks began with very small means, and worked up often enough to a state of considerable prosperity. In Germany these banks formed the basis for starting a large number of co-operative dairies, and enabled small farmers to buy collectively expensive machinery, and this gave the small cultivators benefits which at present were monopolized by the large cultivators. Similar calls were likely to be made upon the banks movement in India. He hoped the movement which had been set on foot would gain strength, and that before long they would have a large number of agricultural banks established in India. He was sure they would greatly benefit the country. (Applause.)

DR. THORNTON had come prepared to get information, but he had not received much. He wanted to know what practical steps had been taken to introduce these agricultural banks, what practical difficulties had been experienced, how many banks had been established in India, in what districts, where they got their money from to begin with, and how the system worked. If a borrower did not pay, did they take him into court? It was said that the present rate of interest was too high, but surely that

must depend to a large extent on the difficulty of recovering the money and the difficulty of raising the capital.

MR. ALFRED EMMOTT, M.P., said he did not think he had the expert knowledge which would entitle him to take up much of their time. He came there because he had known Mr. Whish for some time, and had obtained a great deal of information about Indian matters from him, and he knew his anxiety to do all that he could for the benefit of that great dependency. He thanked him cordially for the paper he had read, although he fully admitted the force of some of the criticisms that had been made. Some of them felt that Mr. Whish had not given them sufficient of the A, B, C of the question. The experiment of Raiffeisen banks was one of very great interest. In no country was it more interesting than in Ireland, where he was told by Mr. Horace Plunkett that the success of the banks was phenomenal. He did not quite understand how the banks were to be worked in India if only 5 per cent. was to be charged to the borrower. Mr. Whish had deplored the apathy of the British public with regard to Indian matters. He might also perhaps have included members of the House of Commons. He wished to say a word in defence of those men, many of whom were experts on other questions and devoted much time to them. It was often very difficult to obtain really reliable information upon Indian subjects, so as to form a well-balanced judgment upon the question. That was why he felt so grateful to Mr. Whish for his paper, which was so moderate, and yet so suggestive. The revival of the village communal government was a matter of great interest, although he was not able to say how far it might be possible in India. If it did anything to stop the enormous amount of litigation which appeared to go on in India, it would do a large amount of good.

MR. SEWELL said that, when in India, he had tried to start an agricultural bank in the Bellary district, and had then been struck with the probable usefulness of such institutions in, amongst other things, enabling cultivators to obtain on loan the use of better kinds of agricultural implements. Near Bellary the ground was dry, and a wealthy Hindu gentleman introduced a number of European ploughs, which required at least two yoke of bullocks, which the ordinary cultivator was unable to pay for. These he hired out to the ryots at Rs. 10 per acre, the Government revenue on the lands being only Rs. 2 an acre. Large use of them was made, with beneficial results, and this proves that there is a reasonable hope of success from a business point of view in such a scheme, as the cost of the ploughs and bullocks was completely covered in a very short time. A banking institution might well be able to offer such advantages to the ryots. But, of course, a certain amount of capital must be found. The great difficulty would be to induce the villagers to entrust their money to others, and so raise the capital required. With reference to the question of village communities, Mr. Sewell said that he had studied history and inscriptions a good deal, and was certain that in the old days village communities had done a great deal more for the villagers than most people had any idea of. The reason probably was that there was no one else

who would do anything for them. There was no paternal Government in those days. One inscription which he had in his mind specially mentioned a village committee, who appear to have had such power over the communal lands that the wife of the Chola King, desiring to make a grant of land to certain persons, had first to purchase the fields from the commune. This seems to show that in those days the village committee had a great deal of influence. He was heartily at one with Mr. Whish in hoping that some day there would be a return to the old village *punchayat*, because he thought in that lay large possibilities of happiness and prosperity for the village people.

SIR CHARLES STEVENS said that the few words he might have said had practically been anticipated. The working of a scheme, such as that suggested, was a matter of which he had had no experience. He came there hoping to hear the details of the method by which the scheme was worked. No enterprise of the sort indicated seemed to him to have the germ of possible life in it unless it rested on a business basis. Any attempt, for example, to limit the interest to such a sum as most borrowers would wish to pay would be altogether fatal. It was the fashion to speak rather harshly of the money-lender in India. In Bengal, where the speaker's experience chiefly lay, the money-lender was not usually a very considerable person; his risks were very large. It must be remembered that, when he lent grain, he lent it when it was dearest, and he was repaid when it was cheapest; and he had, further, to bear the storage risks. All these things should be considered in estimating the apparently exorbitant rates of interest. Undoubtedly, it would be greatly to the advantage of the cultivators to obtain money on lower terms, but he questioned whether, with the limitations they had heard of, it was likely that a scheme of the kind would be worked on a very large scale. In Bengal especially there would be a good deal of suspicion. The very unlimited liability would be a matter which the more substantial people would be inclined to shy at. Altogether, it seemed to him that the question was largely one of detail, and he thought they might go back to the familiar phrase used by the Chairman—*Solvitur ambulando*. He also agreed with Sir W. Wedderburn in the opinion that perfectly rigid rules would be out of place, and would lead to failure. But rigid rules could only be dispensed with in cases in which they had an agency on the spot, which for intelligence and honesty could be relied on. Where they had neither strict rules nor a strong agency, he did not see how the scheme could work.

MR. ALEXANDER ROGERS was much interested in the paper. It was a matter he had considered for a long time. He had drawn out a regular scheme by which agricultural banks could be established, and sent it out four years ago to a well-known Deputy-Collector in Broach. That scheme corresponded almost entirely with the scheme proposed by the Commission appointed by Lord Curzon. It was that in each taluk or central station there should be a central bank which should be managed by a committee of retired Government servants, of money-lenders if they could be got, and of merchants of various kinds. These central banks should have the general

management in each collectorate. Under them should be established village banks managed by the village punchayats, which, if they did not fully exist at present, could very easily be revived. The central bank would first of all get its funds from the Government. He did not believe it could be done in the beginning in any other way. There was no reason why the advances given every year by the State for agricultural purposes under the name of takavi should not be entrusted to these central banks. If that system were properly worked, he believed the actual distribution could be carried out by the village banks. He was sorry that the question of unlimited liability had been brought in as a bogie to hinder the carrying out of the scheme. He did not think there was anything in it. The village punchayats, of course, would know every man to whom they advanced money. They knew the purpose for which it was wanted, and whether the man could be trusted properly to employ the money. That would be the limit of their responsibility. There never ought to be any bad debts. He thought the village punchayats would acquire the confidence of the people, and by degrees they might see the villagers themselves contributing to the funds of the banks after the so-called Raiffeisen system adopted in Germany. He disagreed on one point suggested in the paper, namely, that the banks should make advances of grain. It was simply impossible to prevent speculation if that were done. The village bank, which would have advanced the grain instead of money, would have to establish grain stores for itself or have to look about for the best markets, and that he did not believe could be done without great fear of speculation. As there would in reality be only a nominal distribution of funds by the punchayats, he did not think the question of limited or unlimited liability could well be discussed in connection with the matter.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Kolasker, who had been private secretary of Mr. Justice Ranade, a man universally beloved and respected throughout India, to say a few words.

MR. KOLASKER said that Mr. Justice Ranade all through his life worked for the regeneration of his countrymen. The regeneration of the agricultural population of the Deccan, and of all India, was a subject very much in his heart up to the end. Mr. Justice Ranade had worked with Sir William Wedderburn during the early eighties with reference to agricultural banks, and some of the addresses which he delivered on that subject in the Poona Industrial Conference had been published in a book called "Essays on Indian Economics." He dealt with what had been done in other countries, the circumstances of which were akin to those of India, and sent his views to some of the Governors and to Lord Curzon, and the replies he received were very cordial and encouraging. He had a letter from Lord Curzon in which he mentioned that he in every way sympathized with the object. Mr. Justice Ranade also had a long conversation with Lord Curzon about it, with a result which they would perhaps hereafter see. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said that the time at their disposal was rapidly coming to an end, and although he had the names of several other gentlemen who

wished to speak, he feared they had only time for the reply of Mr. Whish.

MR. WHISH, in reply, said that he was not prepared to give the details which had been asked for by several speakers. In his opening remarks he had said he did not intend to approach the technical question at all. He had assumed a knowledge on the part of his hearers which perhaps he ought not to have assumed. He might briefly say that in the provinces in which he had observed the working of the banks about 200 had been started, and the money had been supplied either by private individuals, by the Court of Wards, or by a society which would correspond to the central bank spoken of by one speaker, called an organization society. The members of that society supplied the funds, which were sent to the village punchayats for distribution. As far as he knew, that was the only way in which money was sent. There had not been any difficulty in working the banks, and the question simply was, how a thing which had already been done could be further stimulated. It was working on a very limited scale. He was sorry that he had not been prepared with statistics, but he had several districts in his mind where the banks existed. With reference to the loan of grain, to which Mr. Rogers objected, perhaps the word had slipped out without his meaning it. He was thinking of advances for seed. That he considered a most necessary thing, because cultivators did not get good seed if it were advanced in the ordinary way. If the banks undertook that, they would see that the cultivators got good seed. With reference to what had been said about the village communes, at the present time in the South of India there were traces of the existence of them. To the North he imagined all trace had been obliterated by the various waves of conquest which had passed over Hindostan proper.

As my reply to the various criticisms on my paper was cut short by failure of time, I append the following remarks :

First as to the demand for facts and statistics. I think the paper might have been more properly entitled "Causes of the Slow Progress of Agricultural Banks in India, with Suggestions for their Removal," or in some such manner; this would have emphasized my intention "severely to let alone" the statistical and technical side of the question. I may add, to what I said at the meeting, that in the United Provinces the Government was prepared to advance the money to start the banks in the first instance, but that in nearly every instance private individuals came forward to do so, or else the organization societies borrowed the money and supplied it to the village committees. This last plan seems liable to the objection that the money reaches the banks already saddled with interest. But there has been no difficulty either in obtaining funds or in putting the money out at interest, or securing punctual payment, to the limited extent to which the experiment has been tried. What we are now concerned with is how to spread the movement universally, and how to remove causes of unpopularity. It is, indeed, too early to review the results of the experiment at all in detail. My object was to draw attention to the

importance of the subject, and to make and elicit suggestions for expanding the movement. The criticisms as to the absence of technical details were to be expected, but I will not take up space by attempting to supply them now. Another criticism which I should have replied to was as to the managing agency: was it official or private? To this I would reply, Both; official supervision is necessary at first, but we hope will be dispensed with in time. The old Indian stage-coach had always to be started by turning the wheels, but once started it went on all right.

Something was said about the legal status of the bank. I certainly ought to have known that a bill is now before the Legislative Council which is intended to solve this difficulty.

One speaker suggested that English capital should be supplied to the banks; but I think this would give rise to suspicions in India that the movement was intended to divert another source of profit into European hands. I think the money had much better come from Indian pockets if possible.

My proposals have been far more severely handled in an article in the *Pioneer* than in the extremely friendly criticisms they received on June 9. The editor complains that my proposals are far too benevolent and grandmotherly; but I think this is the one way in which, as one speaker said, the rich can help the poor without demoralizing them. The local committees, cognizant of the character and circumstances of each borrower, could secure that differential treatment which, I cannot help thinking, is here called for.

In conclusion, I was overjoyed to hear that these bank committees had actually in some instances expanded, as I hoped they would expand, in other directions. Besides co-operative credit, they have turned their attention to arbitration and other needs of the agricultural community. It may not, therefore, be out of place to indicate how village punchayats might be elected all over India to safeguard her interests, as I believe no other institution can. The heads of households will always nominate the proper men if we can eliminate "pull." In every district there is one or more officers, either in the administrative, judicial, or police departments, who is thoroughly trusted by the people. This individual might make a confidential report, after an exhaustive inquiry, as to the representatives really desired in each village. Armed with this report, the officer making the selection could be on his guard against the nomination of any individuals whom he had reason to believe had been elected because the constituency were largely in debt to him, or for any other kind of "pull." The election could be disallowed, and the village warned against yielding to any kind of pressure. If the village still persisted in their choice, they might be deprived of the privilege of a punchayat, or left to reap the fruits of their own folly. The election should always, I think, be by acclamation, and the desired representatives should be pushed forward, even should they absolutely decline the honours sought to be conferred upon them. At first this is nearly certain to be the case, but in time the members of a village punchayat would learn to magnify their office, and to value the inexhaustible

opportunities which it would confer upon them of usefulness to their country.

If these methods are condemned, as they probably will be, as *Oriental*, I can only say that it is my firm belief that India will have to wait many years for what might so soon make her contented, loyal, and, as much as circumstances will permit, prosperous.

MR. LESLEY PROBYN asked the meeting to give a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Whish for his interesting and suggestive paper on a most interesting and important subject.

MR. MARTIN WOOD desired to second the resolution. He reminded Mr. Probyn, who was a member of the Council, that at one time the Council of the Society used, after an exhaustive discussion like the present, to embody the practical results of it, and to put them before the proper authorities. He thought the question was quite ripe for such a course.

MR. DIGBY supported the vote of thanks to Mr. Whish. He regretted that the very interesting and expert comments which had been made had prevented his speaking on one or two points in regard to which he had some special knowledge and experience. He referred especially to the establishment of village councils or village tribunals as organizations for the administration of agricultural banks and other matters. He would have liked, if time had permitted, to dwell a little upon the realization in Ceylon of all that Mr. Whish looked forward to in relation to the value of village communities, and also to allude to some other cognate matters. He ventured to suggest that next year the Council, when arranging the programme of papers for submission to the Association, should get someone who could speak as to the provision of adequate capital for agricultural banks, enabling them to be started, not here and there only, in the parts of India where circumstances were favourable, but in every part of the country. The present arrangements, judging by what Mr. Wolff had said, seemed to be of benefit only to those cultivators who, to some extent, could help themselves. What was wanted in India was arrangements to assist those who, from various causes, could not help themselves.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings then terminated.

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#### ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting was held at the Westminster Town Hall on June 9, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Among those present were Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir William Rattigan, K.C., M.P., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Connell, Mr. Peter Pillai, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.



The report and accounts were proposed, seconded, adopted, and carried unanimously.

The three retiring members of Council, Sir H. S. King, K.C.I.E., M.P., Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., and J. B. Pennington, Esq., were re-elected—proposed by Mr. Coldstream and seconded by Mr. Sewell.

The election of Lord Reay as President for the ensuing year, proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. Probyn, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Mangesh Bal Kolasker, late private secretary to Mr. Justice Ranade, and Mr. Nanabha Dadabhai Daru, Bombay Educational Department, were unanimously elected as members of the Association.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

## ANNUAL REPORT.

THE Council of the East India Association beg to submit their Report for the year 1901-1902.

They would first express the deep regret of the Association at the death of Sir Richard Temple, who for some years was the President of the Society, and was always ready to assist it with his advice and co-operation. His long and varied experience of India, his intelligence and energetic character, were of the greatest value, and although, on account of failing powers, he withdrew from active participation in our affairs some time ago, the Council cannot but record here their high appreciation of the distinguished statesman who so long shared their labours.

During the winter and spring session the following papers of importance were read :

December 2. By Dr. Duncan, of the Educational Department of Madras : "Is the Educational System of India a Failure?" Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

January 28. "The Spread of Municipal Ideas in India," by Mr. Alexander Rogers, with Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., presiding.

February 10. "The Indian Civil Service, and the Further Admission of Natives of India," by Mr. J. B. Pennington, with the Hon. Percy Wyndham in the chair.

February 26. "Is State-aided Education in any Shape suitable to the Present Condition of India?" by Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., and Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 29. "India and South Africa," by Sir Lepel Griffin, Lord Reay presiding.

May 19. Mr. S. S. Thorburn, "Education by Newspaper," with Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair.

June 9. Mr. C. W. Whish on "Agricultural Banks in India," Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., in the chair.

The question of the grievances of Indian British subjects in South Africa, both in the newly-annexed Boer States and in Natal, was again

brought before the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and India; and it was pointed out that the matter should be given full and careful consideration now that the war was drawing to a close, as it might afterwards be difficult to alter a condition of things that had become stereotyped and immovable. The lecture of April 29 on "India and South Africa," with its subsequent discussion, dealt with one branch of the same subject, and advocated the settlement of Indian immigrants on a large scale in those parts of South and Central Africa which are not exclusively reserved for European colonization, or which cannot be effectively colonized by men of European blood. A very large portion of the African dominions of Great Britain are of this character. The advantages and disadvantages of this scheme of Indian colonization are fair subjects for discussion, and deserve the fullest consideration and inquiry.

His Highness the Maharaja Shivajee Rao Holkar, G.C.S.I., of Indore, has executed a new trust deed in favour of the East India Association, making over to it and renewing the grant of Rs. 25,000 originally given by his father, the Maharaja Tukajee Rao, Holkar, to the London Society. This renewed grant will, it is anticipated, enable the Association to obtain possession of this endowment, together with the arrears of interest withheld for several years by the Bank of Bombay, failing compliance with some necessary legal proceedings. Instructions have been sent to solicitors in Bombay to take the necessary legal steps to secure possession of the funds of the Association.

The present year is memorable for the arrival in England of many great Indian Chiefs, the Maharajas of Gwalior, Jaipur, Kolhapur, Idar, Cooch Behar and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, to be present at the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor. A large number of distinguished representatives of the Presidency cities and of the several provinces have also been invited, together with representatives of the most distinguished regiments of the Native Indian Army. The Council believe and earnestly hope that this most representative assemblage of the princes and peoples of India may stimulate the interest of Great Britain and her Colonies in the Eastern Empire of the Crown, and may bear fruit in the future in a better understanding between East and West, and a more general appreciation of the noble character and loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects.

His Highness the Raja Hira Singh, G.C.S.I., of Nabha, who has been already a liberal donor to the funds of the Association, has this year made a further donation of Rs. 2,000.

The members who have joined the Association during the year are :

T. R. Fernandez, Esq.  
Alexander McMillan, Esq.  
Major F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E.  
Dr. David Duncan.  
John Sturrock, Esq., C.I.E.  
F. H. Brown, Esq.  
Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

The Association has lost by death

E. J. W. Gibb, Esq.  
V. R. Ghandi, Esq.  
Munshi Kashi Prasada.  
Surgeon-General Penny, M.D.

The following members of Council retire by rotation according to terms of Article 12. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir H. S. King, K.C.I.E., M.P.  
Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.  
J. P. Pennington, Esq.

LEPEL GRIFFIN,

*Chairman of the Council.*

C. W. ARATHOON,

*Honorary Secretary.*

*May 30, 1902.*

Abstract of accounts duly audited shows receipts, £443 10s. 7½d. ; expenditure, £347 11s. 4½d. ; balance at bankers and in hand, £95 19s. 3d. For details, see Journal of the Association, July, 1902.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## FAMINE IN INDIA: ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

SIR,

Mr. Pennington's opening remark (in his letter in your April number) that he had hoped to find in my pamphlet, *Famine in India: Its Causes and Effects*, "something more practical in the way of a remedy," is an illustration of a certain unfairness too common to controversialists. He professes to be disappointed; yet I am sure that if I had piped of remedies he would not have danced; and now that I mourn of evils, and explain their causes, he will not weep with me.

It seems to be a miracle of perversity that Mr. Pennington should have read through my pamphlet and yet failed to grasp the main thesis, which I am therefore obliged to repeat here.

It needs to be remembered that in the beginning there was one motive inspiring the activities of the British invaders of India—to get gold. Mr. Secretary Barlow, 100 years ago, drafted the following minute: "The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements are to secure its political safety and to render the possession of the country advantageous to the British nation."

How was this advantage to be obtained?

In India, under immemorial Hindoo custom, the economic unit was the village community. At harvest time, *not before*, the headman set apart that portion of the crop which was the Prince's share. Thus taxation was paid in kind and by proportion—a good crop, a good revenue; a bad crop, a small revenue. To a large extent the Mohametan conquerors introduced a new principle. The land, they said, belonged to the monarch, and the cultivators had to give up a portion of the harvest as *rent*. Land was farmed out to zemindars, who, as feudal lords, were first technically collectors, but became finally contractors and virtually owners of large estates.

Here, then, was a vast field for the European exploiters—millions of industrious people, the bulk of whom worked on the land, ruled by Hindoo and Mohametan Princes of reputed wealth. "How can we," said the genius of the East India Company, "reap the benefit of this vast storehouse of human industry? How can we replace these zemindars, rajahs, nawabs, this Emperor—even these ryots?" History tells the tale. After a terrible epoch of deceit and open violence "the reign of law" began. The permanent settlements of Cornwallis, the political triumphs of Wellesley, the annexations of Dalhousie, prepared the ground for a more refined and cruel tyranny—"the Juggernaut car of Western progress."

I will not stop now to traverse the many false politico-economical doctrines advanced or implied by Mr. Pennington, but will ask him a plain

question : Does he understand the tremendous revolution effected in India when the land tenure was changed from communist to *individualist*, the tax or rent from proportion to a *fixed amount*, irrespective of harvest, the payment from kind to *money*, and the collection from after the harvest to *before* ? If he understands, perhaps he will follow me a step further.

The Government, ever in need of money, makes an estimate of the amount it can raise by taxation. On certain days, before the harvests, the collector appears ; he demands from the cultivators the sum of £18,170,000 (see Budget Estimate, 1901-02).

It is certain that the cultivators have not, and never have had, sufficient *money* to meet this demand. Their crops, prospective or actual, have to be turned into money somehow. Mr. Pennington knows better than I do that this is done by having recourse to the money-lender and the grain-dealer, who is generally one and the same individual. So the Government makes laws to facilitate this business (Civil Debt Courts), builds railways to carry off the food, maintains an artificial currency, to the injury of the cultivator (as I have shown), and, if necessary, by forced sale secures its £17,205,056 (see Accounts, 1899-1900).

Why does the Government want this money ?

Every penny of it is shipped off to the Secretary of State to pay the Government debts in England—£17,747,300 (see Home Charges, Budget Estimate, 1901-02). To make this possible the Government was bound to initiate that series of four economic revolutions to which I have referred. Mr. Pennington knows very well that such a bleeding process could not be carried on under the old systems of common tenure, proportionate tax or rent, payment in kind and collection at harvest. As he says, "No progress was possible." The Juggernaut car of so-called progress had to wait till these ancient obstacles—relatively sound in economics, politics, and ethics—had been removed. They have been removed deliberately by successive British Governments, whose members (agreeing with Mr. Pennington and the Hon. A. Seshiah Shastri) found them to be, *from a tax-collector's point of view*, "the worst ever known."

It is not really possible to build up a modern empire on any other basis than by the destruction of sound economy, and although Mr. Pennington dimly perceives this, he does not profit by it. He admits (1) that "labour is always deprived of its fair share of produce" in England, India, Italy, Russia—everywhere ; (2) that "when every labouring man has the option of taking land for himself, instead of working for someone else, he will have been duly emancipated."

I reply : (1) Agreed. (2) Show me the country where a man can obtain land *for himself*. Madras is not that country, for the ryot works land for the Government, to whom he must pay taxes in money, and for whom he must sell or export his food as described.

It is quite clear to me that the destruction of liberty (for greedy motives) does in these days amount to a positive science, studied and practised by the governing classes of all races. How true it is, then, that "the survival of the fittest" is a cruel law, used by the Government for its own ends, and that the agricultural classes must inevitably suffer from it.

Mr. Pennington further remarks: "It is not likely that an intelligent ryot could be persuaded to sell his reserves unless he has fallen into the power of the money-lender," and without giving an explanation proceeds to ask, "The real question is, why the ryots, when they have sold their produce, have no money in their pockets to buy food." In answer I must reply briefly: (1) The first is the "doctrine of thrift," three times referred to. "After all, when a man sells his produce, he has (or ought to have) the value of it in cash, and would have it always but for want of thrift; the thrifty ones manage to keep it, and so do not suffer." It is really surprising that anyone dares to say this of a people who live on less than 2d. a day, and who are without doubt the most sober, patient, plain-living people on earth. Moreover, in my reading of official famine histories and reports I have never met a word confirming this doctrine, but much to the contrary. (2) In Lower Bengal "Nature is bountiful, and no doubt the careful and more intelligent ryot there has learnt that it is better and easier to store his crop in the form of rupees." Such an absurdity! Do men eat rupees? Sir William Wedderburn asserts (and many with him), "In the earlier days of my service every ryot, however poor, had an underground store of millet put away, enough to keep his family for a year or two. But these little stores are now impossible, being swept away by the bailiff in execution of the decrees of the Civil Debt Courts, which, to the destruction of the peasantry, we have set up on the English model in the rural districts." I say, what doctrine of political economy can meet facts like these? (3) Again, Mr. Pennington has "no doubt the ryots rejoice in the steady demand for their crops, which enables them to realize their value promptly. Being prosperous themselves, they perhaps treat their labourers liberally and perhaps pay them in grain, in which case the rise or fall of prices affects them not at all." I have to ask Mr. Pennington why he considers it an advantage to be paid in grain (against the rise in prices) and yet also "better and easier to store his crop in rupees"? The one statement refutes the other. This orthodox economic Utopia is really quite attractive—it ought to exist, but it does not. Instead, as we learn from the Famine Commission Report, p. 361, 1898 (referring to Bengal): "The labouring classes in no way benefit by that rise" (in prices). Again (p. 363): "In times of scarcity and famine in India the rise in price of food is not accompanied by a rise in the wages of labour; on the contrary . . . when agricultural employment falls off, the rate of wages offered is frequently below the ordinary rate. Such wages in times of famine prices are not subsistent wages for a labourer with dependents to support." This quotation, and much more like it, appeared in my pamphlet, and yet Mr. Pennington assures us that perhaps the labourers are paid in grain! He should know that in such times they are discharged, and get *no wages at all*, but have to go on relief works.

I hope I have left no doubt as to my meaning. The bulk of the Indian people—small farmers, tradesmen, artizans, labourers, and waifs—are gripped as in a vice. On the one hand the activity of trade, with its artificial rise in prices of food, brought about by railways and export; on the other, the growing poverty of the people, brought about by unjust and

unsound land and revenue laws, and the ruin of native industries (a most important factor). The two jaws of this vice are tightened by the Government of India, which exists for the benefit of a few. In spite of all pious aspirations to the contrary, the minute of Mr. Secretary Barlow still holds the field. I quote it again: "The two principal objects which Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements are to secure its political safety and to render the possession of the country advantageous to the East India Company and the British nation."

So long as these conditions are maintained famines are inevitable.

I should like to add a few words about the Bengal famines which appeared in the table given in my pamphlet. Mr. Pennington casts doubt on my accuracy, but I must refer him to the official accounts. Although it is quite true that Bengal has suffered less than other provinces, yet the suffering has been serious, and in some cases severe. I find, too, that the facts as to the Bengal famines, even to the least of these, substantiate my statements as to famines in general in every particular.

Date.	Description in Blue-Book.	Highest Number Relieved.	Cost in Rupees.
1865	"Bengal Famine, 1865-66" - - -	38,404	2,29,203
1873	"Famine of 1873-74, Bengal" - - -	2,379,737	6,61,00,000
1885	"Distress in Parts of Bengal and Behar" - - -	50,800	3,50,000
1891	"Scarcity in Bengal in 1891-92" - - -	85,000	4,01,323
1897	"Famine Operations" - - - -	819,698	86,12,707

I cannot intrude upon your space any further, except to say that, from the particulars given in the Blue Books of the 1865 and 1873 famines, the export of food seems to have played an important part in creating the famine conditions. Mr. Pennington writes that "everybody knows the so-called famine of 1873 was nothing of the kind." I hope he will settle the matter with the compiler of the Blue Book, and explain to us what *are* we to call that phenomenon of two and a half million people out of work, with empty pockets, fed by Government with 480,000 tons of grain at the expense of Rs. 6,61,00,000.

The severest famine of modern times and the slightest distress are both due to the same causes—causes which I have striven to make clear. Until these causes are clearly perceived it is useless to speak of remedies.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM L. HARE.

Derby, June, 1902.



BLUE-BOOK AND DIGBY'S "CONDITION OF THE  
PEOPLE OF INDIA."\*

SIR,

I hope it is not mere prejudice which makes me think that Mr. Nicholson's reply to Mr. Dutt is the most effective of all the papers in this interesting collection. Everyone must admit that it is the most exhaustive, and as I am less likely to go astray in discussing its comparatively familiar arguments, I will confine myself chiefly to it and to the memorial for which I was partly responsible. It is an open secret that this modest document was the result of a friendly conference between the Madras officials concerned and Mr. Dutt; and that, I may just add, is the only reason why the names of the Madras officials (or, at any rate, mine) occupy so prominent a position. I will notice very briefly the criticisms of the memorial by the Government of India, merely premising that it represents a very considerable modification of Mr. Dutt's views as promulgated before it was written. This seems to have been overlooked more than once, and we appear to be identified with Mr. Dutt's views as expressed in his book in a way we should some of us resent. I, at least, never at any time belonged to "the school of thought which advocated the extension of the Permanent Settlement throughout India." This is, however, a minor matter. On another point the "memorialists" have been more seriously misunderstood. I can only speak with certainty for myself as to the intentions of my co-signatories, but I think it is sufficiently clear even from the wording of it that we never intended to recommend a "gross produce standard" as a substitute for the accepted rule of "half the nett." What we actually said was that "the Government demand should be limited to '50 per cent. of the nett,' . . . *and* should not ordinarily exceed one-fifth of the gross produce." This saving clause was only intended as a check on the 50 per cent. of the nett, and as a guide to settlement officers who had often been brought up on the theory that 50 per cent. of the nett was equivalent to about 30 per cent. of the gross, not by any means as a substitute for the present practice, which, after discussion, Mr. Dutt himself fully accepted. We should have said that the assessment should *never* exceed 20 per cent. of the gross in any individual case, except that we were aware that in the Tambraparni Valley, for instance, the assessment (which is paid with ease) probably exceeds 20 per cent. of the real gross produce (not only the commuted value of it) in an average year, the charge for second crop being two-thirds instead of one half as usual.

As I have said already, Mr. Dutt's views as expressed in the memorial differ very materially from those embodied in the papers which alone were circulated to the Local Governments for report; but this is so far fortunate that it has given the Madras Board of Revenue, represented by Mr. Nicholson, the opportunity of preparing a paper which is quite worthy to rank with the ablest of the many able papers for which that body has always been distinguished.

\* East India (Land Revenue) Papers regarding the Land Revenue System of British India (1902).

Mr. Digby in the second paper noted above seizes with characteristic avidity on Mr. Nicholson's estimate of the gross produce as contained in paragraphs 69-71 and Appendix VI., and by skilful manipulation, not unsupported, I think, by arithmetical errors and unjustifiable assumptions, proves to his own satisfaction that Mr. Nicholson's figures corroborate his own and demolish those of Lord Curzon. Now, it might be sufficient to say that Mr. Nicholson's estimate of the gross produce was put forth merely to show that the revenue payable out of it cannot possibly amount to 10 per cent., and that he would be the last man to say that any such estimate can be really accurate. The conditions on which they are framed preclude anything like a liberal estimate, because they are all made up of an immense number of small component parts compiled by officials whose cautious inclination is almost always towards underestimating. That something of the kind has happened with Mr. Nicholson's, also, is obvious from the fact that we *know* it is practically impossible, even in India, to live on much less than a penny a day, and yet Mr. Nicholson's estimate (at any rate as manipulated by Mr. Digby) allows little more than a halfpenny, as compared with Mr. Digby's historic if somewhat sensational three farthings. As we know for a fact that in an average year (and it is only average years Mr. Nicholson is discussing) the people generally get enough to eat (though little enough in all conscience), and as we know that there is in such years always so much food to spare as to keep a vast army of professional mendicants in excellent, not to say exuberant, condition, it is clear to me *à priori* that Mr. Digby's three-farthings or one-halfpenny apiece is the result of some gigantic blunder in the original estimate of the gross produce *or* in his arithmetic. Figures may be made to prove anything, and when the value of the gross produce is estimated at commutation prices there is hardly any limit to the error that may creep into such calculations. Still, Mr. Digby has a right to comment on figures supplied by officials, and may reasonably complain of their issuing statements full of figures which they know are misleading. So far I entirely sympathize with him, but that does not justify him in making such extraordinary alterations as appear on pp. 10 and 12. The first, indeed, seems to be a mistake pure and simple; though how any man accustomed to such statistics could have supposed that the "average" crop of "ragi" in an ordinary year could amount to only 93 lb. *an acre*, when he had just been reminded by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces that it takes 90 lb. of grain to sow an acre, is difficult to understand. That it is not a mere verbal slip in the first statement is clear from the fact that the gross outturn of ragi is calculated in the following statement on the assumption that it produces only 93 lb. to the acre. Hence, we have one mistake involving over half a million pounds of food.

But that on p. 12 is more serious, and even more inexcusable. Indeed, it is quite inexplicable. Taking Mr. Nicholson's estimate of Rs. 550,000,000 as the actual gross value of the agricultural produce in an average year, Mr. Digby proceeds to make a reduction of Rs. 80,000,000 on account of vicissitudes of seasons, though Mr. Nicholson expressly says that his figure represents the real average outturn for a series of years, and is

evidently a very moderate estimate of the crops actually harvested, from which, therefore, no deduction on account of vicissitudes of season is admissible. If I am right, Mr. Digby's estimate on p. 13 must be raised to Rs. 351,486,744, and the amount available per head of the population would be about Rs. 13 8a., instead of Rs. 10 6a. 9p., as he says, or, say, 18s. instead of 14s. That means for a family of five gos., or, in terms of the more familiar rupee, Rs. 67 8a. a year, or nearly Rs. 6 a month, *for food alone*, a sum which we all know by domestic experience is sufficient to keep many of our servants in comparative comfort.

On the whole, I cannot help saying again that every discussion shows more and more clearly that what is wanted is the more exact information demanded by the Famine Union. At present we are all, officials as well as outsiders, in the dark as to the bed-rock facts of the case, and all argument is useless.

I have already written more than I intended, but should like to add how thoroughly I sympathize with Mr. Digby's repugnance to the use in English correspondence of such words as "crores," "garce," "faslies," and even "lakhs"; it is so much easier to compare millions of people with millions of pounds and rupees. I spent a good many months as sub-secretary to the Board of Revenue in a desperate attempt to put a stop to the practice, which is quite contrary to the orders of the Government of India, but evidently without any permanent effect.

The extraordinary number of printers' errors in most of these papers seems to show unusual carelessness in editing them, and adds materially to the difficulty of following some of the arguments, which depend a good deal on local knowledge and are not familiar to outsiders.

Mr. Digby carefully ignores paragraph 83 of the Board's proceedings, from which it appears that "in the scarcity of 1900 the right class was practically not even represented on the famine works, but *coolies only*." This is a sufficient reply to his contention that famines are the result of over-assessment, because coolies, of course, are the landless labourers who pay no assessment, and correspond to the submerged "tenth" in this country. It seems to be generally forgotten that the proportion of those who never have enough to eat does not differ so very widely all over the world (except, perhaps, in America). Ten per cent. of the population of India account for nearly 30,000,000, and there are more than 10 per cent. even in this country who never have enough to eat, or depend on "famine relief" in the shape of the Poor Law, and suffer more misery in winter than the poor in India ever do. See Zola's comparison of the condition of the poor in Rome and in Paris (p. 270 of his "Rome"). His argument applies with even greater force to India generally, and especially to the south, where it is seldom really cold.

J. B. P.

June 7, 1902.

THE PRINCIPLE OF APPORTIONMENT OF INDIAN  
REVENUE.

It has been agreed that the apportionment of revenue of India, between the Imperial and Indian Governments, should adopt the principle of *geographical* distribution of charge, and that there should be appointed an arbitrator to decide the same; that this arbitrator shall be one of the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary. The principle referred to is to be applied so as to provide—

1. "That India has not a direct and substantial interest in the employment of forces in Europe; in Africa, west of the Cape of Good Hope; in Asia, east of China.
2. "That India has a direct and substantial interest in keeping open the Suez Canal, and in the maintenance of order and established government in Egypt, so far as the security of the Suez Canal is affected thereby. This interest might extend to the coasts of the Red Sea, only so far as to maintain the inviolability of that shore, but not to the Soudan, or further extensions of Egypt up the valley of the Nile or its affluents.
3. "That India may have a modified interest in questions affecting the East Coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, and the African islands on the Indian Ocean, except Madagascar.
4. "That India has no direct or substantial interest in the African coast south of Zanzibar.
5. "That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Persia, and the coast and islands of Arabia, and of the Persian Gulf.
6. "That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Afghanistan, and that part of Central Asia which is adjacent to the borders of India and Afghanistan.
7. "That India has sole interest in punitive expeditions on her borders.
8. "That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Siam.
9. "That India has a modified interest in questions affecting China and the Malay Peninsula.
10. "That India has no direct or substantial interest in Japan, or countries or islands east and south of China.
11. "That special cases may arise giving to India a direct and substantial interest in questions connected with Europe or other territories in which the minute declares her to have, as a general rule, no interest.
12. "That in every case, where the two Governments are not agreed, no contribution should be made by India until the sanction of Parliament has been obtained."—See Parliamentary Paper on Indian Expenditure (Royal Commission), May 1, 1902, pp. 15-17.

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AN EXTENSION OF TENURE OF LORD CURZON'S  
ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

An esteemed correspondent, a native of India, writes, as Lord Curzon's tenure of office is drawing towards a close, he considers the

present time to be opportune to raise the question whether the people of India, through their representatives, should not approach the Government, praying that Lord Curzon's tenure of office be extended for at least another two years. He says: "Lord Curzon has been now amongst us for over three years, and there can be only one opinion about him, that he is the very beau-ideal of an Indian Viceroy." He also advocates an important change: that there should be a Viceroy and a Deputy Viceroy, so that, when the tenure of office of the Viceroy expires, the Deputy, having obtained an experience of five years, would assume the post of Viceroy, thus saving much time in acquiring at the outset a thorough knowledge of the details of the numerous ramifications attached to the duties of the Viceroy. We cordially endorse this opinion, and hope the leading men of India will embrace the present opportunity to bring this important suggestion under the notice of the Government at home.

#### THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF INDIA.

Net Income and Expenditure for the eleven years from 1890-91 to 1900-01.

		Income.		Expenditure.
		£		£
1890-1891	...	38,681,348	...	36,222,567
1891-1892	...	38,119,831	...	37,808,141
1892-1893	...	38,158,145	...	38,158,145
1893-1894	...	37,426,918	...	37,426,918
1894-1895	...	37,012,141	...	36,550,068
1895-1896	...	39,033,808	...	38,011,142
1896-1897	...	38,337,153	...	38,337,153
1897-1898	...	42,444,186	...	42,444,186
1898-1899	...	41,879,617	...	39,238,744
1899-1900	...	40,986,698	...	38,212,075
1900-1901	...	42,342,746	...	40,672,542

For minute details see Parliamentary Paper titled "East India: Income and Expenditure," March 19, 1902.

#### THE PROSPERITY OF EGYPT.

The Annual Report of Lord Cromer on the condition of Egypt has been presented to Parliament.\* The surplus of revenue over expenditure for the previous year, as noted in our issue for July, 1901 (p. 199), was £E559,000 (the £E is equal to £1 os. 6d.); for the past year it is £E764,000. The excess of revenue appears under every head of accounts, such as Customs, tobacco, octroi, salt, fisheries, stamps, railways, Post Office, rent of Government lands, etc. The Egyptian Debt on December 31, 1900, amounted to £103,710,000, of which £7,273,000 was held by the Commissioners of the Debt, leaving a balance of

\* Egypt, No. 1 (1902).

£96,437,000 in the hands of the public. Debt to the extent of £445,000 was paid off during the year, of which £77,000 was Guaranteed Stock, £268,000 Domains, and £100,000 Daira. On December 31, 1901, the outstanding debt was £103,265,000, of which £8,265,000 was held by the Commissioners, leaving a balance of £95,000,000 in the hands of the public. Lord Cromer anticipates that the surplus of revenue for the current year will still further increase. It is satisfactory to note that the revenue has been gradually increasing since 1890. At that date it amounted to £E10,237,000, but in 1901 it was £E11,944,000. During this period taxes have been remitted per annum to the amount of £E408,000. The salt tax has been reduced by 40 per cent., postal and telegraph rates 50 per cent., railway rates largely reduced. The only increase of taxation has been in the duty on tobacco, and a house-duty imposed on European residents in Egypt. On March 1, 1901, Postal Savings Banks were opened at twenty-seven first-class post-offices. The rate of interest is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. From that date till December 31 the deposits amounted to £E87,000, withdrawn £E39,000, leaving a balance of £E48,000 due to depositors at the end of the year. The number of depositors was 6,740, of whom Government officials were 1,339, and merchants' clerks 1,285. So far, says Lord Cromer, the experiment of establishing such banks has proved successful. Agricultural narrow-gauge railways cover 632 miles. The irrigation system, both in Upper and Lower Egypt, is being rapidly remodelled, and will be largely supplied by water from the Nile on the completion of the great reservoir at Assouan. Slavery in Egypt proper does not now exist, and that in the Soudan is engaging vigorous attention. Education, in its various aspects, is being actively promoted. In short, this exhaustive report exhibits satisfactory progress in all departments of administration.

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#### SOUTH AFRICA: THE TERMS OF PEACE.

The following are the exact terms of surrender by the Boers :

"His Excellency General Lord Kitchener and His Excellency Lord Milner, on behalf of the British Government, and Messrs. M. T. Steyn, J. Brebner, General C. R. de Wet, General C. Olivier, and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog, acting as the Government of the Orange Free State, and Messrs. S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Generals Louis Botha, J. H. Delarey, Lucas Meyer, Krogh, acting as the Government of the South African Republic, on behalf of their respective burghers desirous to terminate the present hostilities, agree on the following Articles :

"1. The burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles, and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of His Majesty King Edward VII., whom they recognise as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, Assistant Commandant-General Delarey, and Chief Commandant De Wet.

"2. All burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa who are burghers will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII., be gradually brought back to their homes as soon as transport can be provided and their means of subsistence insured.

"3. The burghers so surrendering or so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

"4. No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the burghers surrendering or so returning for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefit of this clause will not extend to certain acts, contrary to usages of war, which have been notified by Commander-in-Chief to the Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by court-martial immediately after the close of hostilities.

"5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

"6. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection on taking out a license according to law.

"7. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will at the earliest possible date be succeeded by Civil Government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions, leading up to self-government, will be introduced.

"8. The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

"9. No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

"10. As soon as conditions permit, a Commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the presidency of a magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations.

"His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these Commissions a sum of £3,000,000 for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a Judicial Commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this Commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first-named Commissions as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given.

"In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loan for the

same purposes free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with 3 per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause."

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#### THE NEW BOUNDARY OF NATAL.

It has been mutually agreed upon by the Home and Natal Governments that the following districts (about 7,000 square miles) be transferred to Natal—viz., the District of Vryheid, the District of Utrecht, and such portions of the District of Wakkerstroom as is comprised by a line drawn from the north-eastern corner of Natal, east by Volksrust in a northern direction to the summit of the Drakensberg Range, along that range, passing just north of the town of Wakkerstroom to the head-waters of the Pongola River, and thence following the Pongola River to the border of the Utrecht District. Considering the advantage to Natal of this additional territory, the Natal Government have agreed to take over £700,000 of the Transvaal Debt. (See Parliamentary Paper, South Africa, May, 1902.)



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY.

1. *The Jain Stûpa, and other Antiquities of Mathurâ*, by VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S., Fellow of the Allahabad University. (Printed by Frank Luker, Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1901.) This volume contains 107 plates, besides a map of Mathurâ, and twenty-three chapters, containing short descriptions or explanations of a certain number of the plates. Mr. Smith, in his Introduction to the volume, states that the Kankâlî or Jainî mound (Tilâ), from or near which most of the objects delineated in the plates were excavated, stands in the angle between the Agra and Gobardhan roads, close to the south-west corner of the city of Mathurâ, and about half a mile south of the Katrâ. The plates were prepared several years ago under the supervision of Dr. Führer, then Archæological Surveyor and Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum. When he retired from the service in 1898, he left the plates without a word of explanatory text. The plates have been utilized, on the advice of Mr. Smith, at the instance of Sir Antony MacDonnell, G.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh. The plates and inscriptions have been left to speak for themselves, with only so much annotation and explanation as seemed indispensable. The volume is of much interest to Orientalists. Many of the plates resemble sculptures in the famous "Leitner Museum" at Woking. The sculptures in that museum, however, represent a much larger area of research of not only religious, but social and historical scenes. There are Græco-Buddhistic, Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Ancient Hindu (such as Sati figures representing the poetical conception of the burning of widows), and Indo-Buddhistic, showing the gradual corruption of Buddhism by re-absorption into Brahmanical forms.

2. *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra*, described and illustrated by EDMUND W. SMITH, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Part I. (Printed and published by the Superintendent of the Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh; Newman and Co., Calcutta; Thacker, Spink and Co., Bombay; Thacker and Co., Ltd., Madras; W. H. Allen and Co.,; and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., London. 1901.) By order of the Government, Mr. Smith commenced the survey of Chîntî-Kâ-Rauza, Agra, a tomb ascribed to Afzal Khân, a poet, who died in Lahore in A.D. 1639. "The mausoleum," says Mr. Smith, "is one of the most interesting buildings in Agra, yet it is little known." "It stands on the left bank of the Jamnâ, midway between Îtimad-ud-daulah's tomb and Ârâm Bâgh, the garden where, according to tradition, the body of Bâbar rested till conveyed to Kâbul for burial. Inside is an octagonal chamber 27 feet 10 inches in diameter, and 37 feet high, covered by a dome exquisitely painted on the inside with floral patterns in rich colours. The edifice is built of brick,

and the whole of the exterior is faced with glazed tiles, commonly called Chînâ, worked up into numerous patterns." "Of its kind, the mausoleum is unique, being about the only building in Northern India entirely ornamented externally with enamelled tiles." The plates and the rich colouring of the decorations are exquisitely represented in the volume. There are also given specimens of the mosaic tiling used by Jahângir on the kiosks round the upper floor of his father's tomb at Sikandra, along with photographs of the style of decoration employed on the entrance gateway to the grounds surrounding the tomb, and the variegated marble embellishment on the walls of Îtimad-ud-daulah's shrine at Agra. Mr. Smith traces very briefly the origin of this art, and gives admirable descriptions of the various plates and decorations. In short, the volume is replete with interest and beauty.

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EDWARD ARNOLD; LONDON, 1902.

3. *A Ride in Morocco among Believers and Traders*, by FRANCES MACNAB, author of "Relics," "On Veldt and Farm," etc. The authoress, whose peregrinations were confined to the beaten highway, had no special mission, but she gives us a pithy and racy description of her tour in the Moorish Empire. Her itinerary was Tangiers, Tetuan, Azila, Laraiche, Salli, Azemour, Mazagan, Marakesh, Mogador, and Saffi. In Chapter XIV., on the Portuguese and religious questions in Morocco, she says: "The Portuguese were grand and romantic. They went to war splendidly in velvet and lace, with inlaid armour and ornamental arms. And what masters they were of the engineering and navigation of their time! They reached Morocco just when the Moors were declining from the spirit they had displayed in Spain, and, had they come upon other terms, their conquest would have been an unmixed boon. But they failed, and they have left in Morocco only stately ruins and the infinite harm caused by their perpetuation of the crusading spirit. The ambition to wrest an empire from the infidel had a certain religious grandeur about it, but its practical effect was to intensify Muhammadanism and render the Moors the most fanatical Muslims in the world. . . . It is a blunder to blame Islam for all the faults of the Moors. Islam upheld the Moors betwixt heaven and hell, or, at any rate, maintained them in a singular position between Europe and Africa . . . it has saved them from falling into the black savagery of the cannibal and Central African tribes. The faults of the Moors lie much deeper than a creed. They lie with facts which have rendered Muhammadanism possible and popular. The faith of Islam expresses a state of things existing in human nature which racial, climatic, and geographical conditions have encouraged." The following is an account of a feast: "We sat on cushions on the floor . . . and after water had been poured over our hands by a slave into a brazen dish, the courses opened by a large dish of fowl stewed in olive-oil, garnished with olives. A loaf of bread was given to each person. Our host, who sat by my side, tore up the fowl with his fingers, and we dipped pieces of bread in the oil and transferred it, or a morsel of chicken, to our mouths with our right hands. We also picked out olives, and my host soaked pieces of

his own loaf in the oil and held it up to my mouth, which I was obliged to open for the reception of the delicate attention. Then the fowl was dismissed, and another was brought, this time stewed with onions. In time this was replaced by mutton boiled with almonds and apricot kernels. The inevitable *kouskous* was brought in, and I hoped this would finish the repast; but it was followed by a forequarter of lamb and potatoes. Then a compound of green vegetables, mashed together and boiled in oil, was set before us. And this was followed by several dishes of cakes, made of paste and honey and fried in oil, and a large bowl of orange marmalade made with cinnamon. Then fruits were set before us, and water was again brought to wash our hands, this time being greatly needed, for they were very greasy. Two rose-water sprinklers were set before the host, who went to work to make me wet through with the scent. Incense was then brought in and handed round, so that each guest might hold his chin over it and let it curl up his face. Tea was served, which was followed by coffee, and then I took my leave." The illustrations are good.

4. *Siam in the Twentieth Century*. Being the experiences and impressions of a British official. By J. G. D. CAMPBELL, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and recently Adviser to the Siamese Government. In 1899 the Siamese Government applied to the Foreign Office in London for the loan of a British official for two years, to reorganize the education of the country, and at the suggestion of Sir George Kekewich, Secretary to the Board of Education, Mr. Campbell was sent to Siam for this purpose. The present volume is the result of his visit and impressions. The introduction deals with the history of the country and its people, and its relation to China and France. He says: "Siam is still Siamese. The Chinese, great as may be their numbers and influence, are still aliens, and but little inland trade from China filters as far as Bangkok and the sea. It is with a Siamese Government that we have to deal, and it is Siamese ideas and institutions that prevail in the country. The more pressing question, therefore, for the practical politician is to consider, taking the country as it now is, What are to be our relations with it in the immediate future? The problem is a complicated one." Hence the value of the present work. Mr. Campbell deals with the geography and commerce of the country, its past history, the character and civilization of the people, their manners and customs, the Government and administration, religion, education, the Chinese in Siam, and a careful and important summary of the present position of the country. His opinion is, with reference to the present and future Sovereign, "that it is one of tremendous power for good or evil, power such as can hardly fall to the lot of any single man, in the democratic lands of the West. If the future ruler of Siam is able to renovate his country and to steer the ship of State into untroubled waters, amid the wrecks of empires and kingdoms with which the East is strewn, then he will indeed have made for himself a name worthy to live in history." Meeting as he will in his own person both East and West—Eastern by birth and nature, Western by education, and in not a few of his sympathies and ideas—it may be hoped that he will be able to combine the advantages of both civilizations; that, while profiting by the lessons he has learned in

Europe, he will at the same time preserve much that is praiseworthy in the institutions and customs of his own country. In the short space at our disposal it is not possible to refer farther to the contents of this very important work. It possesses numerous illustrations, an excellent map, and a minute index. It ought to be carefully studied by all politicians who have an interest in the prosperity and advancement of the country and adjacent kingdoms and empires.

CASELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND  
MELBOURNE, 1902.

5. *With the "Ophir" Round the Empire.* An account of the tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales, 1901, by WILLIAM MAXWELL, Special Correspondent of the *Standard*; illustrated. This handy and popular volume consists of letters written from time to time by the author, as correspondent to the *Standard* (London). Those contained in this volume have, in most cases, been rewritten. It contains also new matter and numerous illustrations. In the appendix there is an itinerary of the tour from place to place, the names of the members of the Royal suite, Royal proclamations and messages, and the names of the officers of the *Ophir* and escort. The author says that "for nearly eight months we journeyed from country to country and from capital to capital, and in all of them we have seen not convulsions, but a ceaseless flow of energy directed to objects that must make a people great." "The presence of the Prince and Princess has quickened the spirit of brotherhood, and brought us nearer to the accomplishment of the desire of statesmen and patriots. Under the shadow of the sword we have seen that pride of race and loyalty to the Empire are undying impulses." "Who, having seen and heard, can doubt that the bond which time and blood are welding will last, and give strength and security to every part of the Empire?" The work deserves to be perused by the people in every quarter of the British Empire.

CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON, 1901.

6. *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, by C. F. GORDON CUMMING, author of "At Home in Fiji," "A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-war," "In the Hebrides," "In the Himalayas and on the Indian Plains," "Viâ Cornwall to Egypt," etc. The writer of this work, of which a new edition has been issued, joins to her many other gifts the special knack of carrying the reader into her family circle. If he skip the introduction and open the book anywhere beyond it, he will feel in a few minutes as though he held in his hand, not the production of a complete stranger, but the description of a relative's impressions. This intimate character lends Miss Gordon Cumming's reminiscences a peculiar charm, which, with the further aid of a lucid and vigorous style, intensifies the interest naturally inherent to her subject. Her artistic temperament enables her to appreciate the beauties of Ceylon to the full, her knowledge of botany qualifies her to speak with authority of its marvellous flora, and on a large number of its other aspects she furnishes exhaustive information, which it would be in vain to seek

elsewhere—at any rate, in so attractive a form. She is, in fact, a minute observer, and knows how to convey much in a small compass; besides, she does not fear to allude to matters usually ignored or glossed over, giving valuable particulars about them. Take as a sample the subject of crime in the island. There is a peculiar feature in this, which has not attracted the attention it should, and which, with the aid of authoritative documents, the writer lays bare: the transformation of the courts of law into instruments of oppression. Of one of the most shocking kinds of perversion of justice in Ceylon, judicial murder, she speaks thus: “The police reports present a dreadful catalogue of most callous murders, generally on account of the merest trifles, the victim being often someone to whom the murderer bears no ill-will, perhaps even his own near relation, and the sole cause is that a false charge of murder may be brought against some innocent person against whom he has a spite” (p. 480). If his false witnesses, held in readiness, prove the charge, the law hangs his enemy. To turn to another topic, Miss Gordon Cumming thus describes a form of aboriginal worship she met with: “[The priest] stood on the utmost verge of the crag, and the worshippers, having laid at his feet their offerings . . . clustered around, wherever they could find a footing on the rock or slippery grass. . . . As the sunset glories faded, and the stars shone out more brilliantly, the priest intoned a litany, to which all devoutly responded; then, one by one, he took the chatties of good milk or water, and poured them out on the rock as a libation. After this, while still chanting the litany, he took each gift, and from his giddy height cast it into the fathomless ocean, far, far below, a true offering to the Almighty Giver. Then, kindling a fire on the rock pinnacle, he thrice raised a blazing brand on high, and all the people threw their arms heavenward. Afterwards he lighted a brazen censer and swung it high above his head, till the still evening air was all perfumed by the fragrant incense. Finally, descending from his post of danger and honour, he took ashes from the sacred fire, and therewith marked each worshipper on the forehead, after which they silently dispersed” (p. 408). This account is rendered still clearer by one of the illustrations; these, it may be observed, are reproductions of the talented author’s paintings and sketches. One feels tempted to give other extracts, for the book contains matter of interest everywhere; but it is time to bring this notice to a close.—C.

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THE CITY BOOK SOCIETY; 64, COLLEGE STREET, CALCUTTA.

7. *The Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in British India.* Compiled and edited by PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY, author of “The Poverty Problem in India,” “Indian Famines,” etc. This compilation refers to a very important subject, well known and adopted in England. The author has carefully gathered together the authoritative opinions and statements on both sides of the question (1783–1900), with notes of some of the most flagrant cases, illustrative of the evils and dangers of the union of these functions; and Mr. Pennell’s judgment on the Chapra case and resolutions of the Indian National Congress on the subject. This important and

useful compilation has been made at the instance and support of Lord Stanley of Alderley, who has always exhibited an intense interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, and advocated a just and proper administration. His lordship, in a letter to a friend in Calcutta, expressed his wish that such a compilation should include a collation from the papers in India on the subject, commencing with the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose's pamphlets, and including the memorial submitted to the Secretary of State by Lord Hobhouse and others; also a memorandum of Sir Richard Garth of 1893, and Mr. Romesh Dutt's scheme for the redistribution of officials between the judicial and executive; also the later resolutions passed by the National and Provincial Congresses. The Editor has ably carried out the wishes of Lord Stanley, but in reference to the resolutions of Provincial Congresses, they are omitted, as they practically repeat those passed by the National Congresses. He has, however, given a compilation of various other important opinions, statements, and articles on both sides of the question, which form, together with the late Mr. Ghose's pamphlets and the memorial to Lord George Hamilton, nearly as complete a collection as possible of all the available and responsible literature now existing on the subject.

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DIGBY, LONG AND CO. ; LONDON, 1902.

8. *A Son of Mischief*, by REGINALD E. SALWEY, author of "The Finger of Scorn," "The One Alternative," "Ventured in Vain," etc. This is an extremely well-written novel, far above the commonplace, with much that is attractive about it in style and beauty of description. The chief characters, which are striking and well drawn, are: Old Colonel Rossiter, deprived of wife and wealth, whose pride of riches is changed into pride of poverty, and his widowed twin sister, Jemima (Mrs. Ritson). The two, "widower and widow, happier in the old mysterious affinity of twin birth than in the short severance of marriages," "share a life of genteel poverty assuaged by love." Andrew Rossiter, son of a younger brother long since dead, represents all that is ideal and noble. The Colonel's only child, Rachel, is a cold, self-sufficient, and unsympathetic character, who takes upon herself the task to lift the veil that hangs over that mysterious place, Raysbury Court, the ancestral home of the Rossiters, where a maniac is hidden away. Its wrongful possessor is Gerhard von Schaff, a curious specimen of humanity, "not middle-aged, not young, who could assume ten years or discard ten years with a facility which made him a constant puzzle to those who knew him well, and they were few." His beautiful young wife, Miranda, "the groundwork of whose nature" was "overgrown by all kinds of beautiful weeds," representing "untilled nature at her very best—all flowers and no fruition, battered by one day's showers to rise refreshed in the next day's sun." At the end of the narrative the fact is disclosed that she is the long-lost daughter of Mrs. Ritson. Von Schaff comes to a tragic end in a struggle with his wife's pet dog, a savage hound. Raysbury Court is restored to the Rossiters, and Miranda continues in her home, reunited with her mother, and at the side of Andrew Rossiter, whom she has learned to honour and to love. It is a story of deep human

interest, and the author has proved in this, as in his previous works, that he is a writer of experienced delicacy and power.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; 39, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON; NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1901.

9. *The History of India for Boys and Girls*, by SRI HEMLOTA DEVI (Mrs. Sarkar). Translated by M. S. KNIGHT. This short history has been accepted for the use of schools by the Text-book Committee. It has been written to teach the young by simple language the history of India during the various rulers from the early Aryans down to English rule. As to the latter, the authoress concludes as follows: "See now what a change there is from the misrule and violence that pervaded Hindustan! Peace, order, and beauty appear throughout the land. Middle India, which was a frightful desert, has become a land of smiling corn-fields. The deserted villages are now wealthy and populous cities. Formerly, if people desired to leave home, they went with their lives in their hands, for the roads were beset with danger. To-day, by means of the railways, people can accomplish with ease and comfort a six months' journey in six days. Should you fall into trouble, you can send word to distant friends in an hour. For a trifling coin you can send letters from one side of India to the other. Then see in every hamlet and village how many schools are to be found. The people are enriched by the light of knowledge. Formerly, people dwelt in fear of trouble and danger; the strong oppressed the weak. Now, through the good government of our present rulers, evil-doers are everywhere kept in check, violence is duly punished. The people have gained many other benefits." This simple history is accompanied with many illustrations and maps, and is well fitted to interest the youthful reader.

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A. N. MARQUIS AND CO.; CHICAGO.

10. *Who's Who in America: a Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States*. 1901-2. Edited by JOHN W. LEONARD. This is a most valuable book of reference, consisting of 1,300 pages. There are short biographical sketches of 11,551 leading men and women of the United States, their present residences, their professions, and, in the case of authors, the titles of their works and the names of their publishers. The names have been selected with great labour and care, and consist of either Americans themselves, or are so closely identified with American affairs or interests as to be the subjects of American inquiry or discussion. Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the country are included, as also Members of Congress and Senate, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Design, the Principals and Professors, etc., of the larger Universities and Colleges, and of many others under various classifications. There is also a notice of those who have died during the year, and who were included in the edition of the previous year. The volume is indispensable to those in Europe who wish to obtain information as to "who's who" in the United States.

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HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; TEMPLE HOUSE, TEMPLE AVENUE,  
LONDON, E.C., 1901.

11. *The Foundation of British East Africa*, by J. W. GREGORY, D.S.C., Professor of Geology in the University of Melbourne, author of "The Great Rift Valley." This work claims the attention of all interested in the progress of Eastern Africa. It is also evidently the result of thorough and conscientious research, and much valuable information is condensed into it in a manner which holds the attention of the reader, instead of, as it sometimes happens, wearying him. As traced by the author, the history of the region is, like that of all our African possessions, a turbulent one, a record of constant warfare; and it is noticeable that while allowing much earlier explorers credit for surprisingly accurate knowledge of the country behind Mombasa and Zanzibar, he gives the credit for the first practical exploration to the Germans, Dr. Ludwig Krapf and Rebmann, serving the Church Missionary Society. It is curious that the Moslem authorities of Mombasa offered the former every assistance. Then came Speke, Burton (who had been there before), Grant, Samuel Baker, Stanley (who aroused the first outpouring of missionary zeal), and others, until Captain Lugard succeeded in partly setting straight the affairs of a very disordered country. One, however, notices very little mention of the journeys of Livingstone.

It is a matter of history that Stanley's appeal (1875) was only too successful; for the intrigues of Christian missionaries of different creeds against each other, their interference with native politics, even to calling in the help of the heathen and the Moslem to crush their rivals, with the resultant civil wars, made the advent of the European anything but a blessing to Uganda, and caused one of Lugard's greatest troubles.

Our claims at first clashed with those of Germany in Eastern Africa until (1886) an agreement was arrived at, and the British East African Association commenced operations two years later. It had, as usual with chartered companies in Africa, many difficulties (including the slave question) to contend with, and the author spares no pains to trace them and explain incidents which troubled politicians at the time—the German seizure of Witu and Peters' raid. It is, perhaps, not generally known that Britain came near being forestalled in Nigeria by shrewd Teutons, and a treaty acknowledging British influence was only signed by native potentates through the efforts of one Englishman, who out-distanced a rival expedition.

Professor Gregory's interesting book tells the whole painful story of mistake, intrigue, and rebellion, and, reading between its lines and those of Government reports, one cannot help feeling that we displayed a vacillating weakness in Eastern Africa, one representative undoing the work of his predecessor, and even harshly treating aliens who had served him faithfully. One feels sorry for the gallant Moslem, Mbaruk of Gazi, who only wanted peace, driven into rebellion. The author's account of the Stokes incident, from which one gathers that the famous ammunition smuggler, who commenced as a C.M.S. missionary, was justly executed by the Congo Belgians, is interesting reading. From gossip gathered on the



opposite coast the writer was not equally sure, but Professor Gregory evinces a high regard for accuracy and freedom from bias throughout.

The romantic career of Captain (now General) Lugard, the first white man who brought order out of chaos in Uganda, is well told, and one reads how he herded among Arab coolies in a timber ship on his first visit to East Africa, commencing with £50 in his pocket.\* But one must read the book or wade through Parliamentary papers to trace his struggles with turbulent Christians, hostile heathen, and natural difficulties; and he might possibly not have succeeded but for the fine troops he found ready in Emin Pasha's Soudanese. It is a great pity that official blundering drove these men, who had borne the brunt of the ceaseless fighting, at last to mutiny, but such seems to have been the case. The author mentions that when orders were given to turn a machine-gun upon them after a parley, the gun, for reasons reflecting credit on the humanity of its trainer, missed fire. Selim, their leader, appears a distinctly ill-used personage, and General Lugard states: "There must have been a strange want of tact to convert a loyalty so sincere into hostility."

The story of the famous mutiny, concisely related, forms painful reading, and, though its author does not directly say so, the book conveys the impression that, with the exception of Lugard's efforts, we have many mistakes to correct in Uganda. This is also borne out by collateral evidence. Its perusal leaves a very favourable impression of General Lugard, who from other testimony also appears to be a very fine type of the African officer, distinguished by straightforward speech and plain common-sense, in which he differs from some of his minor compeers, who affect an inscrutable mysteriousness and a very high regard for their own dignity.

Efforts have been made to atone for our blunders, and money has been spent freely over the railroad, in regard to the future of which those who understand the physical geography of the country and its huge mountain ramparts and deep-sunk rifts will agree with the author's pithy remark that, if progress is necessarily slow, the "worse faults lie in the structure of the universe."

He concludes: "The main requirement for that successful administration of British East Africa is a Government that will curb militarism, raise a permanent staff of trained men whose hearts are in the work, develop the native resources of the country, and enlist the sympathetic co-operation of the better elements in the native population." These benefits, he also states, will be half wasted unless used as a basis for further progress by a practical philanthropy and tolerant missionary enterprise working in accordance with Christ's command: "Into whatever house ye enter, first say, 'Peace be to this house.'"

There are some very interesting passages in the book relating to the knowledge of this coast possessed by the Romans and Egyptians; but so much information is condensed into the work that an attempt to epitomize it would be useless, and all those interested in our tropical possessions would do well to read it for themselves.—HAROLD BINDLOSS.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1901.

12. *The Growth of the Empire*, by ARTHUR W. JOSE. It is the aim of this volume to give some idea of the processes through which the Empire has passed, from its beginning to the present day, in the course of its formation. "To deal with so vast a subject in so confined a space," says the author, "one must be content to neglect a mass of interesting matter; and my principle of selection has been always to choose for description those events, those lines of policy, those currents of opinion in the past which throw most light on events and policies and opinions of to-day." It is as well to call attention at once to this explanation, for it has been overlooked by certain critics, who take the author to task for not entering into this or that detail. He does not attempt to treat the theme exhaustively—a task he leaves to "the imperial historian, the man who shall do for Seeley what the Herschels did for Newton"—he merely puts it in a popular form, and all that can be expected of him is that he should give the general reader a good idea of its outline. This he has done, and, what is more, has done in an interesting manner. He possesses the rare gift of being brief without becoming obscure, and his style is vigorous as well as plain. Let us take a specimen at random. Mr. Jose, who first examines his subject as a whole, and then in connection with different parts of the Empire, devoting one or more chapters to each, has reached India, and is reviewing the effects of the great contest in 1857. "We know that before the Mutiny began we had conquered India, not by arms alone, but by force of fine government. For the Mutiny was not an Indian Mutiny at all; it was a mutiny of Ganges Valley Sepoys, the representatives of an old military aristocracy. They caught us at a disadvantage; they were successful enough at first to give every disaffected native throughout the peninsula a chance of joining the revolt. And yet the mutineers were strictly left to themselves. Apart from the retainers of the Oudh nobles, their own countrymen let them pass through in a terrified but hostile silence. We put down the Mutiny, as we had conquered the country, with the encouragement and help of the native States. Sindhia, though his men mutinied at last, held them quiet till the greatest danger was over. Our old foe, Dost Muhammad, in the north-west, stood by his treaties when the fanatics at Kabul were furious for a dash at Peshawar. From Hyderabad the same news came—the mullas preached, but the State stood firm, and the Hyderabad contingent did splendid service with Sir Hugh Rose. The Nepalese army came pounding down through Oudh to the storm of Lucknow. 'Jang Bahadur would be wild,' wrote Lord Canning, 'to find himself deprived of a share in the work.' And so India is ours to-day because it has wished to be ours" (pp. 219, 220). The book contains a number of maps, an analytical index, and two appendices.—C.

13. *Our Viceregal Life in India: Selections from my Journal*, 1884-1888, by the MARCHIONESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA. New and cheaper edition, with map. These selections from Lady Dufferin's journal were originally written in the form of letters to her mother. They contain a simple

and pleasant narrative of her journey to India, her visits to Calcutta, her attendance at the Rawal Pindi Durbar, and visits to Lahore, Simla, Burma, Madras, Darjeeling, Dehra Dun, and many other places during Lord Dufferin's tenure of office. The map which accompanies the volume exhibits the viceregal tours which were made from time to time. Lady Dufferin's descriptions of persons, places, and things which she saw and met with form a very fascinating volume.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON; CALCUTTA, THACKER, SPINK AND CO.; BOMBAY, THACKER AND CO., LTD., 1900.

14. *Speeches Delivered in India, 1884-88*, by THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA. This handsome volume contains, out of 177 speeches which Lord Dufferin delivered in India, those which are considered of special importance and interest at the present time. They number ninety-three. There are also the speeches at the Empire Club, July 11, 1883; at the banquet in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, October 15, 1884; and at the Northbrook Club, November 1, 1884. The editor, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, states in his preface that it is the custom in India for the Viceroy's speeches to be printed in the Private Secretary's office, each being preceded by an introductory heading, descriptive of the circumstances under which it was delivered. The speeches selected are of great interest and importance to the large number of persons who have of late years turned their attention to the practical, the commercial, the social, and educational welfare of India, such as, in the order of date, tenancy, bills, art, colleges, commerce, military operations in Burma, infant marriages among Hindus, and numerous other questions and events which arose during Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty. The volume is a permanent record of the policy and principles which guided the late great ambassador and statesman.

Although there is an ample statement of the contents of the volume, its usefulness would have been greatly enhanced had there been an index of the places, persons, and subjects referred to.

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OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; 30, ST. MARY STREET, EDINBURGH; 21, PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1901.

15. *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple. Narrative of four years' residence on the Tibetan border, and of a journey into the far interior.* By SUSIE CARSON RIJNHART, M.D. The authoress gives a simple narrative of her experience as a missionary, along with her devoted husband, among the Chinese and Tibetans. She has a high opinion of the Chinese as a kind and hospitable people, while the Tibetans, for the most part, are cruel, wicked, and treacherous, among whom are robbers, thieves, and murderers. The narrative of the death of their baby son and the murder of her husband gives a sadness to that portion of the narrative. The object of the work is to perpetuate and deepen the widespread interest in the evangelization of Tibet. With this view the authoress has incorporated in her narrative much data concerning the customs, beliefs, and

social conditions of the Tibetans, which may be useful to missionaries who follow in their footsteps. Her close contact with the people during her four years' residence has enabled her to speak with confidence on many points, differing from travellers who have paid only a short sojourn in the regions referred to. Hence the value of the work. The volume is accompanied with a map showing the route of the last journey, undertaken in 1898, by her husband, herself, and their baby son, of whom she is now the only survivor. They started from Tankar, on the north-western frontier of China or Outer Tibet, crossing the Ts'aidam Desert, the Kuenlun and Dang La Mountains, thence to the Lhasa district of Inner Tibet, reaching Nagch'uk'a, a town about 150 miles from the capital. The narrative of her return journey, all alone, after the loss of her husband, the perils she met with, the wickedness of her guides, and hairbreadth escapes, is pathetic and thrilling. There are numerous illustrations, a glossary of local words used in the narrative, and a copious index.

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; PATERNOSTER  
HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, 1902.

16. *British Empire Series*, Vol. V. *General*. With Two Maps. The present volume concludes this valuable series, constituting a library of Imperial interest entirely unique in aim and comprehension. The originators wisely considered that such a series would promote a greater knowledge of the growth, present condition, and possibilities of each integral part of the Empire, and would tend to strengthen the sympathetic, material, and political ties which unite the Colonies to the Mother Country. Their aims and objects have been admirably carried out. The volume also embraces a variety of subjects, such as the History and Present Position of the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, Gibraltar, the Maltese Islands, Cyprus and some of its Possibilities, St. Helena, Barbadoes, The British Empire of To-day and To-morrow, The British Navy, Naval Bases and Coaling Stations, The British Army, The Law affecting Natives of the United Kingdom in other Parts of the British Empire, the Railway Systems of Greater Britain, India, Africa, Canada, Australia, Production of Gold, British Share in Polar Discoveries, Postal Communications, Electric Service of the Empire, Mercantile Marine, Inter-British Trade and its Developments, Sport and Athletics, Muhammadanism and the British Empire, Christian Missions, Duties of the Empire, and Imperial Federation. The Appendix is important as affording, among other topics, information on the Colonial possessions of European Powers, the United States of America, and Japan; and reliable statistics with respect to population, trade, and other specialities. There is also a useful Chronological Table of Colonial History of the Various European Powers from 787 down to the opening of the first Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth on May 9, 1901. The volume possesses an admirable Introduction by Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock), which deserves serious study by politicians, not only of the British Empire, but of other Powers who wish to develop their Colonies beyond their

respective countries. Lord Avebury lays down the principle "that if our Empire is to be permanent it must rest not on force, but on justice, and be held together by the sympathy and goodwill of all its parts. The history of the world is full of warnings. Other great empires have risen and fallen again, and if we are to escape their fate, we must avoid their errors." In the course of Lord Avebury's observations, he quotes the opinion of the eminent American authority, Mr. Wells, who, in referring to our Colonial policy, says: "Great Britain alone opens her ports, and imposes no restrictions on the trade of other countries, nor seeks to exclude their productions. In this respect England stands alone. No other nation that has ever existed, or now exists, has ever adopted a similar policy." In the space we have at our disposal it is not possible to give adequate justice either to Lord Avebury's Introduction or to the important information afforded by the present volume, and we must therefore refer our readers to the work itself.

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GRANT RICHARDS; LEICESTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1902.

17. *On Active Service with the Chinese Regiment: a Record of the Operations of the First Chinese Regiment in North China, from March to October, 1900*, by CAPTAIN A. A. S. BARNES, including the fighting round Wei-hai-wei, the attack on Tientsin, and the relief of Peking. The object of Captain Barnes in writing this interesting record is to show the steadiness and bravery of the Chinese under British officers. He details minutely the various marches and other operations during the military campaign indicated by the title of the book. He says that the regiment, although "fighting for an alien cause against its own compatriots, its own Emperor and his Imperial troops, fulfilled the high hopes formed of it by its officers and by those in high military authority, who caused its formation. The regiment, as a unit, was represented in more expeditions than any other corps. Besides the disturbances around Wei-hai-wei, it played an important part in Tientsin, the relief of Peking, and other minor operations. The volume contains various illustrations and plans and an appendix, embracing extracts of telegraphic and other despatches confirming the opinion of the author, and a list of casualties sustained by the regiment. The volume is exceedingly well got up, and the illustrations are excellent. It is dedicated to "the few officers and colour-sergeants, who, in their hard and unremitting work, made it possible for the Chinese Regiment to play its part in the stirring incidents" recorded, and, as the author says, it is written "Lest we forget."

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LTD.; ST. DUNSTON'S HOUSE, FETTER LANE, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C., 1901.

18. *Naval Brigades in the South African War (1899-1900)*, written by officers attached to the various Brigades, and edited by SURGEON T. T. JEANS, R.N., with an Introduction by COMMANDER CHAS. N. ROBINSON, R.N. (retired), with maps, plans, illustrations, etc. Lord Roberts well said to Capt. Bearcroft, on the Brigade leaving for Cape Town, that it "carried

with them the thanks and good wishes of the Army in South Africa for the able assistance they have afforded throughout the War." And Commander Robinson writes : " The two Services had worked together harmoniously from the beginning—a circumstance abundantly gratifying, but bringing with it no surprise. They were inspired with the same ideals and the same patriotic spirit, and were fighting for the same national end." The volume consists of eight parts, each of which are divided into chapters. Part I. is written by Major A. E. Marchant, C.B., R.M.L.I., and Captain W. T. Jones, D.S.O., R.M.L.I. Part II., by Surgeon T. T. Jeans, R.N. Part III., by Captain Leslie O. Wilson, D.S.O., R.M.L.I. Part IV., by Commander J. A. Fergusson, R.N. Part V., from the Diary of Lieutenant E. P. C. Back, R.N. Part VI., by Chief Engineer C. C. Sheen, R.N. Part VII., from the Diary of Fleet Surgeon F. J. Lilly, R.N. Part VIII., by Captain E. P. Jones, C.B., R.N. There are also appendices containing the names of the officers of the Brigade, the list of distinctions awarded for service, and a list of petty officers, etc., of the Marines specially mentioned in despatches. The illustrations and maps are numerous and exceedingly well executed ; those of the Defences of Ladysmith, showing the position of the naval guns and the approximate range to Boer gun-emplacements, and the Relief of Ladysmith, will be studied with extreme interest. The whole work does great credit to the Editor, and it will be perused with much interest by all who are acquainted with naval operations, and can appreciate the bravery and skill of our sailors and Marines.

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SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LIMITED ; LONDON, 1902.

19. *The Victorian Anthology*, edited by the RIGHT HON. SIR MOUNTSTUART GRANT-DUFF, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., late Governor of the Madras Presidency. It was an excellent idea that had its origin in an address given by Sir Mountstuart E. Grant-Duff a year ago, in the month of May, at the Mansion House, that he should edit a " Victorian Anthology," in the hope that he might bring together for the benefit of his readers a good many old friends, and enable them to form a good many new acquaintances. This he has done in an octavo volume of 570 pages ; and he has made the selection much easier for himself, as he states in his Preface, that he has been assisted by a manuscript anthology made for his own use in the early sixties. The volume does him credit, as it includes many poems which have appeared in isolated magazines or in small volumes, and might otherwise have been neglected if he had not rescued these *vates sacri* in this elegant volume from an unmerited oblivion. The anthology is divided into three parts : (1) Poets born in the eighteenth century, and who lived in the reign of Queen Victoria, and did work during it. (2) Poets born in 1801 or later, who lived during the late Queen's reign or outlived it, but now dead. (3) Poets who wrote during the reign of Queen Victoria, up to last year. The first part comprises the poets from Samuel Rogers to Lord Macaulay, including in this epoch Wordsworth, Walter Savage Landor, Thomas Campbell, Leigh Hunt, Keble, Hood, etc. The second, from Cardinal Newman to James Kenneth Stéphen, including Praed,

Lord Lytton, Mrs. Browning, Lord Tennyson, Lord Houghton, Robert Browning, F. W. Faber, Principal Shairp, Clough, Kingsley, Matthew Arnold, the first Earl of Lytton, William Morris, Lord de Tabley, etc. The third, from Sir Franklin Lushington to Douglas Ainslie, including Edwin Arnold, Sir Lewis Morris, Austin Dobson, Dr. William Alexander (Primate of all Ireland), Herman Merivale, Rudyard Kipling, Swinburne, etc. Taken together, quite a galaxy of many of the best writers of this Augustan period. Many of these poems, written by men whose names are not generally known to many readers, are of sterling quality and exhibit true poetic power; the misfortune is they have written so little, and remind us of King George III.'s answer to Dr. Johnson, when he said he had written enough. The King replied that he thought so too, if he had not written so well.

The word *anthology* has for its main idea a bouquet of the choicest flowers of poetry, written in clear, harmonious, and elegant diction. In early times these poems were compressed in thought, conveying one idea or sentiment in choice and appropriate language, and usually did not exceed a dozen lines or three or four stanzas. In a book entitled "Collections from the Greek Anthology," etc., of Greece, by the Rev. Robert Bland and others, published in 1813, it is stated in the preface that "the merit to which the poems in the Greek Anthology have a claim consists generally in the justness of a single thought conveyed in harmonious language. Very little can be done in the space of a few couplets, and it only remains for the writer to do that little with grace." Sir Mountstuart has transgressed this rule, though he has broken it in good company, as almost all who have made a collection of the writings of our best poets have paid little or no attention to it. But they have not called their collection an anthology, and Sir Mountstuart has chosen this fine word for an excellent selection, and must have spent much time and judgment in the arrangement and choice of his materials. The "personal equation" is to the front, "indicating that he takes all the responsibility of his selection, and also for the space he gives to some of his favourites—*e.g.*, to Keble he gives 17 pages; to Lord Macaulay and Lord Lytton, each 11; to Lord Tennyson, 22; to Robert Browning, 21; to Faber, 13; to Clough, 14; to Matthew Arnold, 56; to Henry Lushington, 15; and to Austin Dobson, 13; giving 193 pages to these poets out of a total of 515 comprising the whole of the book devoted solely to poetry.

He also gives a short and interesting biography of the poets whose poems he has selected, and this greatly enhances the interest and value of the volume. It must have been a labour of love for him to revive his acquaintance with many of the authors, some of whom he personally knew, and he writes of all of them with discrimination and esteem.

We are only sorry that the "personal equation" and want of space has not allowed him to include the writings of many poets which would have given his volume a greater interest and lightness of thought.

Christopher North has a beautiful sonnet beginning:

"A cloud lay cradled near the setting sun," etc.

Allan Cunningham has a pretty little poem—

“A wet sheet and a flowing sea,  
A wind that follows fast,  
And fills the white and rustling sail,  
And bends the gallant mast,” etc.

William Allingham also—

“Oh, thou pretty wayside well,  
Wreathed about with roses,  
Where, beguiled with soothing spell,  
Weary foot reposes,” etc.

Baring Gould also gives us “Forward, Christian Soldiers !” and there is an absence of the poets of the Evangelical school, comprising Bishop Charles Wordsworth, Dr. Bonar, Miss Havergal, Miss Waring, and many others.

There are some fine passages in Bailey’s “Festus.” Alexander Smith has some good lines on Duty in his “Life Drama”; Walter C. Smith has no extracts from “Olrig Grange” and “Kildrostan”; Moir (Delta) is not mentioned; and others of the present generation whom it would have been a pleasure to see and make acquaintance with, in the volume, are not referred to.

But it would have been impossible to have included all, and we have only mentioned those which have occurred to us as we let our thoughts go back to old and favourite authors.

We commend the book to our readers, as they will find many fine selections from poets which they may not find elsewhere, or have a difficulty in obtaining, and which will amply repay perusal.—G. B.

20. *The Moors: a Comprehensive Description*, by BUDGETT MEAKIN, for some years editor of *The Times of Morocco*, author of “The Moorish Empire: a Historical Epitome,” “The Land of the Moors: a Comprehensive Description,” “An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco,” “Sons of Ishmael: a Picture of Moorish Life,” etc. The present volume, of upwards of 500 pages, with very numerous and well executed illustrations, is a revised and extended edition of the author’s previous work. It is beautifully printed; and will form an exhaustive and standard work on Morocco. The contents are divided into three parts—the first on the social life of the country, in various aspects; the second on the ethical aspect, embracing education and religion and the social functions arising from the latter, such as superstitions, saints, marriage customs, and funeral rites; the third embraces the Berbers and the Jews of Morocco—their festivals, customs and position. The contents of the whole of this handsome and well-got-up volume are accompanied with an exhaustive index and a glossary of terms.

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THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY; LONDON AND BENARES, 1902.

21. *The Gospels and the Gospel: a Study in the most Recent Results of the Lower and the Higher Criticism*, by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., M.R.A.S.



The volume contains sketches of the ever-changing fortunes of opinion arising from so-called scientific research into the domain of theological traditions and discussions. The author states that he writes as "an impartial spectator, but a devoted lover of both science and religion, and as a believer in the blessings of that true tolerance which permits perfect liberty in all matters of opinion and belief, and has no desire to dictate to others what their decision should be on any one of the many controversial points touched upon."

The work consists of various chapters, which have appeared from time to time in a review devoted solely to the study of religion from an entirely independent point of view, and perused by a class of readers belonging to the many Churches of Christendom, to schools or sects of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Muhammadanism, Zoroastrianism, and others who follow no form of religion. The author considers that the controversies which have been waged under the term of the "Higher Criticism" have almost exclusively been that of progressive knowledge of physical facts (natural, historical, and literary) and the conservatism of theological traditional views, and never at any time really between Science and Religion in their true meanings.

T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1902.

22. *The Lake of Palms*, translated into English by ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E., author of "Mahabharata condensed into English Verse," "Civilization in Ancient India," etc. We have read with great pleasure this story of "Indian Domestic Life," which we recommend to all whose hearts can still be touched by inartificial descriptions of idyllic, gently-flowing country life. It is an intelligent attempt to convey to the English public some ideas about these people, and, as the author states, an "effort towards the lifting of that curtain which veils the inner life of the East from the West."

*Talpookhar*, the Lake of Palms, which is the home of the chief actors of the narrative, is described as situated on the wide plains of Bengal, amidst long stretches of rice-fields, on the borders of the palm-girded lake from which the name is taken. The simple story is interwoven with interesting descriptions of the amusements, customs, and religious practices of the people, and from the standpoint of a complete and familiar knowledge the work is a useful help towards a better acquaintance of the people.

23. *Japan, our New Ally*, by ALFRED STEAD, with Preface by MARQUIS ITO, G.C.B., etc. Illustrated. 1902. The author has studied on the spot the various topics described. They embrace a statement of the influence of the Royal Family of Japan, its constitution, its religion, charities, education, labour, merchant service, capital and finance, military and naval organizations, police, diplomacy, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and other interesting subjects. The terms of the Constitution and the principles of ancestral worship, the binding cord of the social strength of the people, are little known, but are given in detail in the volume. The

supreme factor in all Japanese affairs is the Emperor. The national religion teaches loyalty in the highest degree, and in every school the children do obeisance at stated intervals before the portraits of the Emperor and Empress. His word has more effect than law, and he is far above the Constitution. The feeling as to the sacredness of the Emperor is indicated in the schools. His speech on education is read on all holidays, and exercises an immense influence upon its hearers. Mr. Stead has made a special translation as follows, and it deserves to be carefully studied: "The Founder of our Imperial House, and our other Imperial Ancestors, laid the foundations of our Empire on a grand and everlasting basis, and deeply implanted the virtues to be ever cherished. The goodness of our subjects, displayed generation after generation in loyalty and piety and in harmonious co-operation, constitutes the fundamental character of our country, and from this the principles of education for our subjects have been derived. Do you, our subjects, be filial to your parents, kind to your brothers, harmonious in your relations as husbands and wives, and faithful to your friends; let your conduct be courteous and frugal, and love others as yourselves; attend to your studies and practise your respective callings; cultivate your intellectual faculties, and train your moral feelings; foster the public weal and promote the interests of society, ever rendering strict obedience to the Constitution and to all the laws of our Empire; display your public spirit and your courage on behalf of your country whenever required, and thereby give us your support in promoting and maintaining the honour and prosperity of our Empire, which is coeval with the heavens and the earth. Such conduct on your part will not only be what is fitting in our good and loyal subjects, but will also suffice to make manifest the customs and manners bequeathed to you by your ancestors. These instructions, bequeathed to us by our Imperial ancestors, to indicate the course of conduct which we and our subjects are bound to pursue, have been of unfailing validity in all ages past, as in the present, and in all countries whatever. Consequently, we trust that neither we nor our subjects shall at any time fail to observe faithfully these sacred principles." Such instruction and principles are bound to raise up, generation after generation, a loyal, united, and devoted people. The volume contains a portrait of the present Emperor, numerous illustrations, and a good index.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Buddhist Gnosticism, the System of Basilides*, by J. KENNEDY (a reprint from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1902). An exhaustive examination of the tenets of Basilides and their relation to the principles of Buddha. Mr. Kennedy sums up the result of his investigations as follows: "Basilides doubtless believed Christianity to be the main factor of his system. He frankly accepted the Gospel narrative, the evangelical morality, the doctrine of the Trinity, the Pauline terminology. His whole scheme is intended to show the advent of the Gospel, how the Divine Sonship came into the world and gave the power to become sons of God

to as many as are born of God. And his theology throws a suggestive light upon the doctrinal teaching and the authority of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles in the Church of Alexandria, when Hadrian reigned. But this Christianity, apparent to the eye, is profoundly Buddhist at the core."

*Mohammedanism and the British Empire*, by R. G. CORBET (reprinted from the *British Empire Series*, vol. v. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road, London). This is a very valuable contribution towards obtaining an exact knowledge of the real principles of Muhammad, as exhibited by the Koran.

*The Subjects of the Shah*, by the REV. CHARLES HARVEY STILEMAN, M.A., C.M.S., missionary in Persia (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1902). With numerous illustrations. A very racy history of Christian missions in Persia, from the time of Henry Martyn. Mr. Stileman divides the chapters of his little and fascinating work, *The Land of "Pussy Cats and Poverty," "Etiquette and Error," "Rugs and Ruins," "Sunshine and Sadness," "Indolence and Ignorance," "Apricots and Apathy,"* each division forming an acrostic, *Persia*. The Bishop of Durham (Dr. Moule) writes a short preface, in which he says, "When I had begun to read [the history] I found that I literally could not put the book down 'till I had read the last of its pages." We cordially endorse this view.

*The Year-Book of New South Wales*, by Authority of the Government, compiled by the Editor of the *Year-Book of Australia*, for circulation by the Agent-General in London, Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., 1902. An admirable compilation, giving in a short compass every needful information as to New South Wales. It is accompanied with an excellent map, showing in colours the localities of the principal minerals, with a full index.

*The Story of Burma*, by ERNEST GEORGE HARMER (Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, London, E.C.). This handy volume is one of the series of works forming *The Story of the Empire*. It is concise and clearly written; the information which it contains is derived from numerous books of undoubted authority, the titles and authors of which are given in a "postscript." There are also two small maps of South Asia and Burma and a detailed index, which will be very useful to the general reader.

*British India and England's Responsibilities*, by J. CLARKE, M.A. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., London, 1902). This is vol. i. of a series titled, *The Ethical Fellowship Series*. It purports to give an epitome of the history of India in ninety-two small pages of pamphlet form. The prefatory note sets forth, "Believing that morality is absolutely essential in political life, this fellowship propose, amongst other efforts, to prepare a small series of little volumes upon political problems."

*The Rise of British West Africa, comprising the Early History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, the Gambia, Lagos, Gold Coast, etc.*, by CLAUDE GEORGE, of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sierra Leone. Part ii.—complete in five parts (London: Houlston and Sons, 7, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.; Plymouth: William Brendon and Son, 1902). We referred to part i. in our last issue (p. 427). The present part contains observations

on the preceding chapter of part i. The author states that the Sierra Leone Company, after inquiry, "was free from all charge of mismanagement or of abuse of privilege." The author then proceeds to give a history of the fortifications of the colony, treaties and conventions, the Constitution down to 1807, the African Institution, 1808-27, the inquiry into the state of the settlement, 1810, and other important events, e.g., slavery, etc., till 1826.

*The Udana, or the Solemn Utterances of the Buddha*, translated from the Pali by MAJOR-GENERAL D. M. STRONG, C.B. (Luzac and Co., Publishers to the India Office, London, 1902). This is a collection of stories, maxims, or sentences, from the Pali version, most of which have never been translated into English. It is divided into eight short chapters: (1) The "Enlightenment," (2) "Mucilinda," (3) "Nanda," (4) "Meghiya," (5) "Sona Thera," (6) "Jaccandha," (7) "Cula," (8) "Patalagami." The translator has published this translation as a "tribute of love to the memory of the noble Gotama." There is also an excellent introduction containing a brief summary of some points essential to a right understanding of Buddhism by the English readers.

*Report of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1900-01* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1902). The volume contains an admirable summary of the contents of which the report is composed. Information is given on almost every subject relating to administration, production, public works, finance, education, archæology, the census of last year, famine, etc.

*Select Indian Questions*, by G. S. MUKADAM, author of "Nibundh Sangraha in Gujarati," etc., Municipal Commissioner and Chairman School Board, Godhva, 1902. This pamphlet is of interest, as it places in a handy form some important questions affecting the welfare of India, with native and Anglo-Indian opinions on the same.

*Praktische Grammatik der Sanskrit Sprache*, by DR. RICHARD LICK, PH.D. (A. Hartleben's Verlag, Wien, Pest, Leipzig). This is a second edition of a first-rate grammar in German of the Sanscrit language for self-teaching. It consists of 183 duodecimo pages, comprising a Sanscrit-German and German-Sanscrit glossary at the end. It is a handy work, and will be of practical use as a primer to the student.

*The "Coalnumber" of "De Indische Mercur,"* orgaan voor Handel, Landbouw, Nijverheid en Mijnezen in Nederlandsch, Oost en West-Indie (J. H. de Bussy, Bureau Rokin 60, Amsterdam). This is an independent colonial weekly, the representative organ for commercial, agricultural, engineering and mining purposes in the Netherlands, East and West Indies. This special number contains statistics of, and remarks upon, the coal trade and coal production of British India, Ceylon, China, and the Far East. The greater part of the contents is in the English, the remainder in the Dutch language.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications of George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, April, May, June;—*The Sunday Strand*, April, May, June;—*The Strand Magazine*, April, May, June;—

*The Citizen's Atlas*, parts 13-17;—*The Wide World Magazine*, April, May, June;—*From Cradle to Crown: King Edward VII.*, to be completed in twenty parts;—also *Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda for the Year 1901*; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. ix., part 1; *Gujarat Population: Hindus*, under Government orders (the above three publications printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1902);—Commonwealth numbers of the *Sydney Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), January 1 and 2, 1901, respectively, presented by the Agent-General for New South Wales, 9, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel (Tunis, au Secrétariat Général de l'Institut);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*Sphinx*, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate);—*Die Kultur*, Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Litteratur und Kunst (Vienna and Stuttgart: Jos. Roth);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*The Magazine-i-Hind* (Meerut);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902);—*United India* (a newspaper published and printed by G. Subramania Iyer, at the Swadesamitran Press, Madras);—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient: Revue Philologique* (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, imprimeur-éditeur, 1902);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales: Revue de Politique Extérieure*, fortnightly (Paris: 19, Rue Bonaparte).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone till our next issue the following works: *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; or, Eight Years in Irān*, by Major Percy Molesworth Sykes (Queen's Bays), H.M. Consul,

Kermān and Persian Baluchistān (London: John Murray, 1902);—*Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, transcribed from the "Original Correspondence" Series of the India Office Records*, vol. vi., 1617 (July to December), edited by William Foster, B.A. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1902); "*Martello Tower" in China and the Pacific, in H.M.S. "Tribune,"* 1856-60, by Francis Martin Norman, Commander, R.N., author of "*At School and at Sea*" (London: George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, 1902);—*Burma under British Rule—and Before*, by John Nisbet, D.Æ.C., late Conservator of Forests, Burma, author of "*British Forest Trees*," etc., in 2 vols., with maps (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 2, Whitehall Gardens, 1901);—*A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel*, by J. R. Wilkinson, M.A., formerly Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford;—*The Home of the Puppet Play*, an address delivered by Richard Pischel on assuming the office of Rector of the Königliche Vereinigte Friedrichs-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, on July 12, 1900, translated (with the author's permission) by Mildred C. Tawney (Mrs. R. N. Vyvyan);—*The Economy of Human Life*, complete in two parts, translated from an Indian manuscript written by an ancient Brahmin, to which is prefixed an account of the manner in which the said manuscript was discovered, in a letter from an English gentleman, then residing in China, to the Earl of Chesterfield; new edition, prepared, with a preface, by Douglas M. Gane (London: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, 1902);—*Harems et Musulmanes d'Égypte (Lettres)*, by Riya Salima (Paris: Felix Juven, éditeur, 122, Rue Réaumur);—"East of the Barrier;" or, *Sidelights in the Manchuria Mission*, by Rev. J. Miller Graham, missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, Moukden, Manchuria (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Budget estimates of 1902-1903 show a total revenue of £74,370,400, a total expenditure charged to revenue of £73,532,000, and a surplus of £837,700. The surplus would have been higher by £1,511,200 had not the Government decided to sanction the following measures: (a) The final remission of famine arrears of Land Revenue, aggregating Rs. 1,98,23,000. This involves a charge against the Imperial Revenues of 1902-1903 of Rs. 1,10,75,000. (b) The abolition of the Pandhri Tax in the Central Provinces, costing Rs. 70,000 a year. (c) The reduction of the Patwari Rate in Ajmir, involving a contribution to local funds of Rs. 23,000 in 1902-1903. (d) A grant of Rs. 25,00,000 or minor irrigation works. (e) Grants to Local Governments aggregating Rs. 90,00,000 for expenditure on education, on public works, on the revision of revenue establishments, provincial service cadres, and other establishments, and on medical objects.

A sum of £260,000 is provided, the larger part under Political, for expenditure in connection with the Coronation Darbar to be held at Delhi in January next.

The Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wilson, K.C.I.E., formerly a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Bengal, has taken his seat as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Irrigation Commission broke up last April, and reassembles in the autumn, when Bengal and the United Provinces will be visited.

Lord Curzon held a darbar at Peshawar in April last, when the chiefs, native gentlemen, and representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and the adjoining transborder tracts were present. In his speech His Excellency explained the policy of the Government towards the frontier tribes.

A public entertainment was given lately in Calcutta to the Hon. H. J. S. Cotton, who has retired from the Chief Commissionership of Assam. He was very popular with both Hindus and Musulmans.

A tornado has visited the district of Dacca in Bengal, causing over 400 deaths, and doing great damage to the crops.

A destructive storm passed over Sind on May 13. It was the severest ever known. Upwards of forty miles of railway were washed away, and the telegraph wires for fifty miles hopelessly dismantled. Many lives were lost, and a great number of cattle destroyed, but in Karachi itself little damage was caused.

The grand total of imports for the year 1901-1902, inclusive of treasure on private account, but excluding Government stores and treasure, was Rs. 101,11,89,172. The exports on the same basis amounted to Rs. 131,96,65,619. The exports to Europe have decreased by Rs. 1,74,13,000, but, on the other hand, trade with Japan has improved to the extent of Rs. 6,02,60,000, so the trade with Europe is at present about half that of the years 1892-1895, while with Japan it has increased sevenfold during the same period.

For the protection of the Indian sugar industry the Council has passed a Sugar Duties Bill imposing countervailing duties of Rs. 2 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ a. and Rs. 3 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ a. per hundredweight on German and Austrian sugars respectively.

The total number of persons in receipt of famine relief in the middle of June was 475,000.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The Kurram Valley has been made over entirely to the local militia. The Samana is still in charge of regulars, the lower section not being yet ripe for the application of the policy of withdrawal. The movable column at Khār in the Swāt Valley has been broken up, and the permanent garrison of Malakand has been reduced to two infantry battalions.

The Mullā Powindah seems to have lost most of his former influence, and goes in fear of his life. It is possible he may seek an asylum at Kabul.

On June 4 a picket at Ghalakot, between Saidgi and Kajuri, in the Tochi country, was attacked by Mahsud Waziris. One Sepoy was killed and another wounded, and three rifles stolen.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Lord Curzon's visit to Haidarabad has resulted in a settlement of the vexed question of the Berars. The Nizām, it is said, relinquishes all territorial claims, and in lieu of such surplus revenues as have hitherto been paid to him will receive a fixed sum of 30 lacs of rupees annually.

The Maharaja Madho Singh of Panna, Central India, has been found guilty of inciting certain persons to poison his uncle, the late Rao Rajah Khumon Singh, in June, 1901. The Viceroy has confirmed the finding of the Commission which tried him. He will be confined in a suitable place, and a successor nominated.

Maharaja Kishen Pershad Bahadur has been confirmed in his appointment of Prime Minister of Haidarabad.

BURMA.—The value of the foreign and coasting merchandise imported into Burma amounted last year to 1,278 lacs, against 1,354 lacs in 1900. The total exports were valued at 1,874 lacs, against 2,110 lacs in 1900. Including Government transactions and treasure, the total imports and exports amounted to 3,614 lacs, against 4,169 lacs in 1900-1901.

PERSIA.—It is stated, on good authority, that the Government has concluded an agreement with Russia under which Persia obtains a new loan of 10,000,000 roubles from the Discount and Loan Bank of Persia, and gives Russia the concession for a new road between Tabriz and Teheran. The loan is designated as the 5 per cent. Persian Gold Loan of 1902. In consequence of the loan there is an agitation among the Muhammadan clergy against the Government. Considerable unrest exists in Kirman Shiraz and South-Western Persia.

A branch of the above-mentioned bank has been established at Meshed ; other branches are at Teheran, Tabriz, and Resht. The main object of the institution is to promote the sale of Russian goods in Persia.

The country in the South has suffered from the scarcity of rain, in some districts the crops having quite failed.

The Government is constructing a telegraph-line between Meshed and



Birjand, which may eventually be linked to the Indian system via Seistan.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has appointed General Bahāval Khān to the important Asmar command, which had been vacant since the death of General Ghulām Haidar.

It is reported that Najib-ud-din, the Hadda Mullā, who went on a visit to the Amir at Kabul in March last, is practically a prisoner. He is daily visited by Nasrullah Khān, but the Amir has not been near him since his first visit.

BALUCHISTAN.—Colonel Showers, with an escort under Major Tighe, has visited all the districts on the Persian side of the border from the sea to the Kuh-i-Malek Siah, and returned to Quetta by the Nushki-Seistan route.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—In connection with the Arab rebellion in Yemen, a mission, composed of the Ulemā, Hassan Bey, son of Abu-ul Hada, the Sultan's confidential adviser in religious matters, and General Mustafā Pasha, proceeded to Yemen in May last. An engagement took place between the Turks and the Imām at Kafiat Idar, the capital of the latter, in which many Turkish troops were killed and wounded. Troops under Colonel Muhammad Ali Bey and Saleh Effendi have surprised and scattered Ali Bin Nasir, Abu-ul-Harb and his party, who were the cause of the continual disturbance and uneasiness in the districts of Ebb.

Progress is being delayed in the work of the Anglo-Turkish Demarcation Commission in the Amiri country, as points had to be referred to the respective Governments.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The short railway-extension from Kushk to Chehel Dukhtarān on the Afghan frontier has been completed.

CHINA.—The Manchurian Convention was signed in Peking in April last. The Manchurian problem, however, is still unsolved, as Russia keeps Leao-tong, and remains in possession of the railways, with the right to guard them. The Russian Government have appended to the Convention a declaration that if China violates any of its provisions Russia will not be bound either by it or by previous declarations.

The agreement defining the conditions for restoring to China the Peking, Tien-tsin, Shan-hai-kwan Railway was signed in Peking by Sir E. Satow, the British Minister, Yuan Shih-kai, and Hu Yu-fen.

The allied commanders at Tien-tsin have decided to maintain the provisional Government until the forts are destroyed, and the Chinese Government has accepted a series of conditions.

In March last most of the trained troops of Marshal Su deserted to the rebels. On May 5 the revolutionists were completely defeated by the Imperial troops at Nan-ning, with the loss of 1,000 killed.

Increased taxation is being levied on the usual Chinese system, without justice or discrimination. The result is to stimulate anti-foreign feeling.

The Emperor and Empress-Dowager, with the Court, have made a pilgrimage to the Eastern tombs, which has cost more than a million taels.

JAPAN.—Baron Kodama has resigned the portfolio of War, and has been succeeded by Viscount Terauchi.

KOREA.—The Government has given \$1,000,000 to the constructors of the Fusan-Seoul railway for the completion of the work, and the Japanese Government has despatched to Korea seventy gendarmes to guard the telegraph-line from Fusan to Seoul. A railway school is being organized for Koreans, the most efficient pupils of which will afterwards go to Japan to complete their technical training.

PHILIPPINES.—General Davis, after sharp fighting, has captured the principal fort of the Dattos in Mindanao.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—The imports in 1901 amounted to \$3,262,763, being an increase over 1900 of \$83,834. The exports amounted to \$3,382,387, being an increase of \$45,762.

SIAM.—The revenue for 1900-1901 amounted to 35,611,306 ticals, the surplus being 3,770,049 ticals. The estimated revenue for 1902-1903 is 39,000,000 ticals.

EGYPT.—Negotiations between the Government, Sir Ernest Cassel, and the National Bank of Egypt have resulted in the establishment of an agricultural bank. The new institution has a capital of £2,500,000, which will be used for making advances to the fellaheen on easy terms. The Government guarantees the repayment of the advances and 3 per cent. interest on the capital. The object of the scheme is to help the fellaheen to get out of the hands of the village usurers, who charge 40 to 100 per cent. on their loans.

A dividend of 125 francs a share of the Suez Canal Company was declared on June 10 last.

ABYSSINIA.—An agreement delimitating the boundary between the British Sudan territory and Abyssinia has been signed.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—It is reported that the Mad Mulla's following is increasing, and that the eastern tribes are joining him in order to save their cattle from being looted.

Lieutenant-Colonel Swayne, with a flying column, has made a successful raid on the eastern Somali tribes.

Sleeping sickness has killed 40,000 people in Busoga. In the district of Kyagwe alone 2,000 have died in six months.

SOUTH AFRICA : TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Towards the end of last March the members of the Boer "Government" arrived under a flag of truce at Pretoria from Balmoral to confer with Generals Botha, De Wet, Delarey, and others, regarding the terms offered to them by Lord Kitchener on the part of the British Government. The members proceeded to Vereeniging, where they met delegates from the different commandos. After some delay by their insisting on independence, they were given to May 31 to agree to our terms, which they did, and the war ended. A copy of the terms of agreement will be found under "Correspondence, Notes and News."

CAPE COLONY.—The town of Ookiep on the railway between Port Nolloth and Springbokfontein was invested for many days by the Boers, who also destroyed the line for many miles. It was relieved in April by a column under Colonel Cooper from Namaqualand.

The imports for the quarter ending March last amounted to £7,458,971. The exports were £2,606,657. Under the heading of goods removed to States outside the Customs Union the figures for the ten months ending April last were—Transvaal £1,626,991, and Rhodesia £662,747.

RHODESIA.—Mr. Cecil Rhodes was buried on April 10 in the Matoppos Hills near Bulawayo.

An epidemic of redwater has broken out among the cattle, and is spreading with virulence. Only the stock of a few farmers and transport riders has escaped the infection. At Umtali not a single span of oxen is available for transport purposes.

WEST AFRICA.—Colonel Festing's, Major Heneker's, and Major Mackenzie's columns, after encountering opposition, concentrated at Bende in the third week of March last. Major Hodgson on the Lower Niger, and the gunboat *Thrush*, co-operated successfully, thus terminating the expedition, and the Aros campaign then finished. The Northern Nigeria and Lagos contingents returned to their own colonies.

Much unrest has been shown at Ibadan owing to the land measures and other matters. A force of Hausas has been despatched there.

CANADA.—The result of the popular vote on the Liquor Prohibition Act, submitted to the electorate of Manitoba in April last, was the defeat of the measure by a large majority of votes. Four years ago the province gave a majority of 9,291 in favour of prohibition. The change in public opinion is due to the feeling that the new law is impracticable.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Legislature was prorogued on April 23 last by the Governor, whose speech noted the favourable prospects of the general industries of the colony. The catch of seals for the season amounted to 275,000, of the value of \$450,000.

The French fishery on the Grand Banks has been a complete failure.

WEST INDIES.—St. Pierre, the chief town of the island of Martinique, has been totally destroyed by the eruption of the volcano of Mont Pelée. This occurred on the morning of May 8. The combination of suffocating heat, noxious vapours, showers of burning cinders, and discharges of red-hot stones, annihilated everybody in about ten minutes, the loss of life amounting to 30,000.

In the neighbouring island of St. Vincent the volcano Soufrière also erupted, and over 3,000 lives have been lost, chiefly by inhaling poisonous gases.

AUSTRALIA : VICTORIA.—Owing to the rejection of a Bill supplementing the Governor-General's salary by £8,000 a year, Lord Hopetoun has resigned.

A new Ministry has been formed by Mr. Irvine. It is composed of Messrs. Shiels, Bent, McKenzie, Murray, Cameron, and Taverner of the Legislative Assembly and Messrs. Davies and Reid of the Legislative Council. Two honorary portfolios are held by Messrs. McLeod and Kirton.

The revenue of QUEENSLAND for the nine months of the last financial year amounted to £2,712,600, as compared with £3,203,400 in the same period of 1901. The expenditure amounted to £2,586,300, as compared with £3,108,210.

NEW ZEALAND.—The first section of the Pacific cable connecting New Zealand with Norfolk Island and Australia was completed at the end of March last at Doubtless Bay. It is hoped that the whole cable will be completed by the end of this year. It will thus form another important link in the chain of the Empire.

The accounts for the past financial year show a surplus of £279,489. The revenue exceeded the estimates by £214,070, including the sum of £42,769 recovered on account of war expenditure. The expenditure for the year amounted to £5,895,914, exclusive of £19,000 expended in the paying off of debentures, and exceeded the estimates by £2,788.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following :—Dr. Charles Pierre Henri Rieu, Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, and late Keeper of the Oriental MSS. at the British Museum ;—Archdeacon Shaw, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for twenty-one years chaplain to the British Legation in Tokio ;—Colonel Andrew Green, a Captain of Invalids, Chelsea (Mutiny campaign) ;—General E. Owen Leggatt, formerly of the Madras Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53, North Canara 1857-58) ;—Dr. Gell, formerly Bishop of Madras ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Raja 'Atta Ullah Khan, Sadr Bahadur, formerly British Agent at Kabul ;—The Hon. Mr. R. Clarke, C.S., Commissioner of Lahore ;—General the Hon. Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., Agent-General for Victoria ;—The Hon. Cecil Rhodes ;—General William Charles Forrest, C.B., Bengal Army (Eastern campaign 1854-55) ;—Mr. George Hammond Hawtayne, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., late Administrator-General of British Guiana ;—Major-General Sir John F. D. Donnelly, formerly of the Royal Engineers (Eastern campaign 1854-55) ;—Mr. Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., a notable Parsi of Bombay ;—Li Ching-hsu, a son of the late Li Hung-chang ;—Lieutenant-General A. Cadell, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers ;—Mr. Frederick Gubbins, C.B., late Commissioner and Agent at Benares ;—Mr. T. Truman Oliphant, Bengal Staff Corps (Umbeyla campaign 1863) ;—Captain E. Gordon Farquharson of the Royal Engineers (Chitral campaign 1895) ;—Surgeon-Captain George Ramsay, I.M.S., Residency Surgeon at Baghdad (Chitral campaign 1895) ;—Mr. J. L. Herald, I.C.S., Magistrate at Cuttack ;—Colonel A. Foulger Fletcher, R.A. (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. Temple-Cotton, late of the 53rd Shropshire Light Infantry (Suakin 1885-86) ;—The Earl of Kimberley, formerly Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Colonial Secretary, and Secretary of State for India ;—Major-General Sir John F. D. Donnelly, formerly of the Royal Engineers and Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum ;—Sir Thomas L. Seccombe, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., C.B., formerly of the Honourable East India Company's Service, and an authority on Indian finance ;—Colonel Robert Alexander, formerly of the 20th Hussars (Indian Mutiny) ;—Major W. H. Barker, late of the 50th Regiment (New Zealand, 1865-66) ;—Major-General Edward C. Marston, Bombay Army (first Afghan war, Sind 1843) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel William Moir, M.A., M.B., late of the I.M.S. ;—Colonel W. Walpole Murdoch (Chitral relief expedition 1895) ;—Inspector-General Alexander Watson,

M.D. (Black Sea, Peiho forts 1858);—General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., G.C.B. (Burma 1841, Gwalior campaign 1843, Sind 1844-45, Peshawar Valley 1852, Crimea 1854-56, Mutiny campaign, Waziri expedition 1859-60);—Major-General Thomas Bernard Collinson, R.E. (New Zealand 1847);—Colonel Etienne St. George (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852-53, [Mutiny]);—Mr. T. F. Hughes, Commissioner of Chinese Imperial Customs;—Colonel Malcolm William Rogers, late R.E., and Assistant Surveyor-General at Calcutta (Afghan war 1878-79);—The Queen of the Tonga Islands;—Judge J. S. Dowling, District Court Judge of New South Wales since 1861;—Sir Alexander Gollan, K.C.M.G., for forty years in the Consular Service;—Mr. Philip Nolan, I.C.S., Member of the Bengal Board of Revenue;—The Thebaw Sawbwa, a prominent Shan chieftain, and a Member of the Legislative Council of Burma;—Major-General Lord Frankfort de Montmorency (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Canada 1866, Abyssinia 1867-68, Sudan 1886-87);—Major Lionel George Nuttall Eales, East Kent Regiment (Manipur expedition 1891);—General Sir Charles Loudon Barnard, K.C.B. (Syria 1841, China 1859-60);—Mr. R. N. Ray, late Deputy Comptroller-General, and a well-known member of the Bramo Somaj;—Mr. J. R. Baass, M.I.C.E., Superintending Engineer Uganda Railway;—Major R. W. Porter, 1st Batt. Oxfordshire Light Infantry (North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, South Africa 1900-02);—General Sir John Irvine Murray, K.C.B., a distinguished Indian officer (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny, second Oude campaign, Nepal frontier);—Lieutenant-General G. W. T. Rich, C.B. (Crimea 1855, Central India 1858);—Mr. John Beames, late of the Bengal Civil Service, and a valued and esteemed contributor to this Review;—Colonel John Morland, formerly of the Bengal Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny campaign 1857-59);—General E. F. Burton, formerly of the Honourable East India Company's Service (Madras Army);—General C. E. Bates, late Madras Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Captain A. H. Chapman, formerly of the 1st Bengal Cavalry (Central India campaign);—Captain J. Pringle, R.N. (Burmese war 1852-53, and Crimea);—Captain Carr, I.M.S., attached to the 6th Jats;—Raja Sir Jang Bahadur Khan, K.C.I.E., of Nanpara, a Pathan chief;—Major-General R. J. Coombe Marter, late 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards (Zulu war 1879);—Major-General J. C. Hay, formerly of the Madras Staff Corps;—Captain W. Greer (Afghan war 1878-80, Egypt 1882);—Colonel H. R. B. Worsley, C.B., Honourable East India Company's Service (Burma 1854, Mutiny, China 1858-59, Egypt expedition 1882);—Captain G. Lewes Austin (Mutiny);—Mr. William Decourcy Ireland, LL.D., late of the Burma Commission, in which he served thirty-one years;—Major-General Alexander Davidson, retired Royal (late Bombay) Engineers (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. F. Parkinson, formerly of the Leicestershire Regiment;—Ali Bey, the Bey of Tunis, one of the most eminent figures of the Musulman world;—Sir John Wake Edgar, K.C.I.E., G.S.I., Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel J. Swainson D'Aguilar, of the Army Pay Department (Boer war 1881, Bechuanaland expedition 1884-85);—Major-General H. T. Vachell, late of the Bombay Artillery (Persian campaign 1857, Mutiny).

*June 23, 1902.*

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1902.

THE INDIAN PHANTOM.

BY R. E. FORREST.

A FRIEND comes to us in much distress of mind. He had seen a spectre. His case was similar to that of the fisherman in the "Arabian Nights" who found the vessel on the sea-shore, on opening which "there issued from it so thick a smoke that he was obliged to step back a few paces. This smoke by degrees rose almost to the clouds, and spread itself over both the water and the shore, appearing like a thick fog." Then the smoke "became a solid body, and took the shape of a genie of a gigantic shape." So before my friend had risen up a terrible figure—literally a figure, an arithmetical figure, not the fat five or the plethoric eight, but the gaunt and grisly one. Shape and substance it had on; an image and superscription bore it. It was a penny—the ordinary, common, English, British penny, the penny of the slot. One penny. The beggar's dole. The indifferent penny, puffed away in a few whiffs of smoke. The penny of the bun and the stick of chocolate. The penny on which the native of India had to depend for a whole day's subsistence. That was the spectre—the dreadful spectre of starving millions, of a famishing continent.

He had been reading an article headed "The Government of India and its Famine Critics" in No. 3 of a new magazine entitled *East & West*, published in Bombay, and edited by Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, to which we

would give cordial welcome and wish success. Then came the Indian Famine Commissions debate in the House of Commons (February 3, 1902), in which references were made to the people of India living on 1d., 1½d., and ¾d. a day, in which special reference was made to the assertion put forward in the above article that the mass of them had but "one halfpenny" a day to live on.

We determined to go into the calculations given in this article. Service in India had made us somewhat acquainted with statistics—their genesis, their uses and abuses, their dangers, their pitfalls.

But first we remind ourselves of certain considerations connected with such calculations. An average is of its nature false. It is an arithmetical calculation, not a concrete fact. The mean is the thing furthest from the truth. Thus the six between the ten and two. The ten and two represent certain things—facts—or you would not use them: they exist; the six does not. You may go wrong if you give it an actual existence. For instance, in India certain irrigation channels designed on the basis of the mean annual discharge of older channels did not answer their purpose, because the requirements of the two seasons of the year, from which the mean was derived, were so different—there was no mean season, no mean crop. If the ten and two represent the incomes of two classes, equal in numbers, the six would make out that the rich had not too much, or the poor too little. It would afford no consolation to the latter. It would raise a false impression, which would be corrected only by a reference to the facts. They have always to be fallen back upon, the facts. They are the realities. If you were to fix your habitation in a certain tract by the average rainfall, you might find that you had more or less rain than you wanted. You ought to have gone by the local figures. There is no average place, as there is no average man. Averages are of great value for their own purposes. They are of great use for comparison, for indication, as a test, as a quick, compendious mode of calculation. We know the value of death-rates.

But that for the whole of London does not show the mortality in any one part. It may be very high in one quarter, very low in another. The high rate is diminished by diffusion. The average does not show the black and white spots; they get mixed to a gray. A general average may not reveal but obscure local facts. The local is the fundamental. Averages often conceal instead of revealing serious variations. The mean of 6 may arise not only from 10 and 2, but also from 8 and 4, 9 and 3, 6 and 6, even from 12 and 0. The last may indicate no deaths in one quarter, a high mortality in another. An average will enable you to control and check the expenditure in a gaol or workhouse. A variation may be due to legitimate or illegitimate causes. It may arise from waste or fraud; but you would not begin by bringing a charge of gross mismanagement, of cheating, or laxity. It is a moral duty to look carefully into a calculation before founding a grave accusation on it. It is wise to do so before resting a line of conduct or a policy on it. Statistics are apt to be affected by motives, aims and ends, prepossessions. They should be spontaneous and free; they should not be worked up to. Useful as indications, they are dangerous as an instrument of rule. If you lay too strong a stress on the low proportion of convictions to seizures, the police may become lax in seizures. If a man has to choose between his own credit and the guidance of statistics, he is tempted to guide them. Statistics often strangle work and thought. The working out of statistics is like the shooting at a mark—a minute initial deviation may produce a very large one at the end. There are fanciful and fantastic statistics. You have to consider the elements of a calculation. The death of the millionaire is of the same value as that of the pauper; his income is not. Averages can be made only between similar things. They must be founded on actual facts. If you add a fact to a fact, the whole is a fact; if you add a conjecture to a fact, the whole is a conjecture.

We brought all the calculations given in the article



together. In 1881-82 Lord Cromer and Sir D. Barbour made an estimate of the income of the whole of India. It was as follows :

Agricultural income	...	...	Rs. 350,00,00,000
Non-agricultural income	...	...	175,00,00,000
Total	...	...	Rs. 525,00,00,000

The writer (by which, here and hereafter, is meant the writer of the above-mentioned article) made a calculation, on which he founded his two "Open Letters," of 1900 and 1901, to Lord Curzon. It was as follows :

Agricultural income	...	...	£172,000,000
Non-agricultural income	...	...	86,000,000
Total	...	...	£258,000,000

He has made a subsequent calculation. It is as follows :

Agricultural income	...	...	£175,000,000
Non-agricultural income	...	...	85,000,000
Total	...	...	£260,000,000

From these calculations he made a comparative statement. It is as follows :

#### THE CALCULATION OF 1881-82.

Agricultural income	...	...	Rs. 350,00,00,000
Non-agricultural income	...	...	175,00,00,000
Total	...	...	Rs. 525,00,00,000
Or at Rs. 12½ per £1	...	...	£420,000,000
Investigation in 1900 shows (Rs. 15 per £1)			260,000,000
Decrease	...		£160,000,000

This result, he says, showing "the amount by which India is poorer to-day than it was twenty years ago."

We proceeded to examine the figures. It caught my eye. I pointed it out. The spectre disappeared; the phantom vanished. No doubt it has caught the eye of the reader too. The second item of the 1881 statement—the 175,000,000—is exactly half the first item—the 350,000,000. What a gigantic guess! We look with wondering awe at the long array of figures—175000000. What a huge

assumption! We looked at the writer's own calculation—the one on which he founded his two “Open Letters”—and, lo! it was the very same thing there. And he had taken these two calculations as of such nearness to the truth, as of such value, as to found comparisons, grave public utterances on them. By adding a hypothesis to an approximation had come forth a certainty, a correct statement! For the writer states that his subsequent calculation, given above, corroborates his first one. It will be seen how very closely the figures approximate. He states that in this second calculation “exact figures were dealt with,” and that by it “the justification for my earlier statement is complete.” We paused. This was the most extraordinary thing we had ever met with in a long course of dealing with such calculations. The estimate of the agricultural income for all India is one very difficult to make—one very liable to error. By taking the non-agricultural income as half it, the error is carried on into the latter. There is no reason why the fraction five-tenths should be used rather than any other. It is obviously impossible that the same proportion should hold good in the case of an estimate of the agricultural income twenty years later; and yet the amount so arrived at is found to be “justified” by another calculation founded on exact figures. What an extraordinary hit! Absolute fact found to agree with a pure conjecture. The corroborative calculation differs from the original calculation by under 1 per cent.—an astonishing result truly, considering that the calculations apply to the whole of India, with its vast and varied area, its vast and varied population. The corroboration seemed to us somewhat too corroborative—we mean for the doctrine of chances. We looked for the “exact figures.” We found them not. No room for them? There were pages after pages of declamation. Reading these, we found that the writer was engaged in a furious controversy. We have no knowledge of this, except from this paper—no part or share in it. Our only concern with it is with regard to its disturbing influence on the calculations. The writer was fiercely bent on proving

his point. We recalled the canon of aim and object and bent and prepossession. We had known these affect ourselves. We had known them affect the figured statements of religious bodies. We know how they affected some of the accounts of the London County Council a year or two ago. The writer seemed to place good motive above correct calculation. He did not seem to us to have the sense of calculation. The damning character of that exact half was not recognised until pointed out by adverse critics. Then came the slightly varying corroborative calculation. No one with that sense of calculation would have made any use of the writer's original calculation or of the one of 1881, by whomsoever set forth. The want of that sense is shown in all the dealings with figures. Thus in the employment of them in the comparative statement given above. It is obvious that the income at the two periods and the difference between them should be given in rupees, and the statement should stand thus :

Calculation of 1881	...	...	Rs. 525,00,00,000
Investigation in 1900	...	...	390,00,00,000
			<hr/>
Difference ...	...	...	Rs. 135,00,00,000
In English money at Rs. 15 per £1	...		£90,000,000

We pause to point out that by this, the correct mode of calculation, the result arrived at differs from that arrived at above—viz., £160,000,000—by no less a sum than £70,000,000. Again, having quoted Lord Curzon's statement of 1901, that the "agricultural income had gone up Rs. 2, and the non-agricultural Rs. 1," the opening words of the writer's sentence of comment thereon are, "so far from there being an increase of Rs. 3." That is conclusive. Of course the two numbers cannot be added together to give the whole increase. The figure showing that will depend on the number of each of the classes, agricultural and non-agricultural. There are errors of statement. With regard to the characterization of his calculations as conjectural, flimsy, baseless, he says: "The amount obtainable as land revenue cannot be occasion for doubt," and "that is

the sole figure upon which I based my statement as to India growing poorer." That is not so. It is based also on the non-agricultural income, which was derived, in the first calculation, solely from the agricultural income by dividing that by two, but is stated to be derived now from independent sources. We could not accept this latest calculation without sight and study of the figures of which it is made up. In a case so extraordinary as this the giving of those figures was imperative.

We held that all the above calculations were of no service for any serious purpose of averment, comparison, or deduction. But as to take a phantom for a fact is always evil; as the single figure given to represent the income, the means of subsistence, of the people of India is harmful, whether it tend to satisfaction or dissatisfaction; as such single figures had been referred to in one of the few debates on Indian matters in the House of Commons, we thought it as well to go fully into the question of their derivation and value.

Taking the total—£260,000,000—of his latest calculation, the writer says: "This sum divided amongst 231,000,000 people provides a little less than Rs. 17 per head per annum." He says: "In his speech at the Legislative Council at Calcutta in March, 1901, His Excellency the Viceroy fixed the average income of the people he rules at Rs. 30, or £2, per head per annum." He goes on to say that the income of the people "is not £2 per annum, but is only one-third of that amount, after allowance has been made for the income of the rich and well-to-do people." It will be seen that this makes it Rs. 10 per head per annum for the bulk of the people, or five-sixths of a rupee a month. The usual calculation of income and wages (and interest) is by the month. He goes on to say: "My contention is that the income of the Indian people, apart from the wealthy section, is now only one halfpenny per head per day."

The factors in the calculation are the Agricultural Income, the Non-agricultural Income, the Population, and the Rate of Exchange.

With regard to the calculation of the Agricultural Income, the writer says: "The Government demand bears a certain carefully-defined ratio to the production of the soil. Ascertain the ratio, and it is possible to tell exactly what the produce is." But with regard to this, the Government itself declares "there is great practical difficulty in ascertaining what the average produce is," and "the truth is that assessment of land revenue is subject to so many complicated and varying conditions that any attempt to reduce it to an exact mathematical proportion either of gross or of net produce would be impracticable."

Estimates have been made of the value of the whole agricultural produce of India by taking an average yield of so many maunds per acre, taking an average price for that, and so obtaining a money sum per acre, and multiplying the whole cropped acreage by that. Thus, yield per acre in certain year = 9 maunds; value, at Rs.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per maund = Rs.  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per acre; whole cropped area, 196,000,000 acres; value of produce, 441 crores of rupees. Owing to the largeness of the area, a very small error in the initial figures makes a great difference in the result. If the Rs.  $22\frac{1}{2}$  should be Rs. 22 or Rs. 23, this would make an error of excess or defect of Rs. 98,000,000. For the year 1898-99 the Government of India made an estimate of 450 crores; the writer one of 285 crores; another estimate, made on the above method, gave 427 crores. In 1893 Mr. F. I. Atkinson, F.S.S., made a laborious and minute calculation of the value of the year's production in India, of which the summary may be presented thus (we are indebted for it to a paper by Mr. Theodore Morison):

1. Food grains, including sugar, spices, orchard produce, etc. ... ..	551 crores.
2. Tea, cotton, jute, etc. ... ..	114 "
Agricultural income: total ... ..	655 "
3. Manufactured goods, mills, timber, coals, etc. ... ..	93 "
Year's production: total... ..	758 "

The year 1893 was a prosperous one; but even allowing for that, the disproportion between the calculation of agri-

cultural income here and the calculations given above is large. We see no value in the results—value for purposes of firm averment, of sound deduction. And these estimates are founded on the cultivated area. They do not take in the income derived by the agricultural community from other sources. They do not take in the produce of the wastes—the uncultivated areas—and the waters. They do not take in the value of the *ghi* (clarified butter), so largely consumed and sold; of the milk—the cow's milk, the buffalo's milk, the goat's milk. The condition of the people of India considered without reference to the cow—the sacred cow, the distinctive animal! That could be done only by aliens. "The horned cattle produce manure, hides, horns, bones." The value of the *ghi* and the hides exported from the North-West Provinces in 1899-1900 was 247 lakhs of rupees. "The sheep yield some wool, and with goats produce manure, milk, ghee, and skins for tanning." They are also eaten. One-fourth of the population eats meat. Pigs are a prominent feature in the villages in Northern India. They are eaten by the lowest classes, by the men by whom they are kept, a numerous class. The superior value of the cow causes that of the goat to be overlooked. Many regions are noted for them. These are the more barren tracts, and the goats help to redeem their want of fertility. If examination be made of the statistical tables given with the Administration Report of the North-West Provinces and Oudh for 1899-1900, it will be seen that, while in one highly-cultivated district of the Doâb there were only 35,000 goats, in a less fertile one in Bundelkhand there were 264,000; and so all through. The sweepings of the villages are sold for brick-burning. We had lived among the peasantry of Northern India, and knew the value of the wilds and the wastes there. We knew that the food-supply does not come from field or garden alone, but from the produce of the uncultivated tracts, too, from root and fruit and blossom. From these might come the materials for the curry, the condiments that flavour it, the

pickles that go with it. Little things; but every little helps, and mounts up over large areas. The shade-giving trees afford fruit. In the rains are the gourds and pumpkins growing over the huts. There are the yard-long cucumbers. We knew the value of the wild-growing reeds and grass, of the *moonjh* and the *surkunda*. The peasant may get his whole house—its walls, its roof, its furnishing, all his domestic utensils, and most of his agricultural appliances—out of the land about him. We find casually in a Government Report that a sudden great rise in the demand and price of myrabolan placed “undreamt of wealth” in the hands of some village proprietors. “The *mahua*, also a gift of the jungle, produces the fleshy flowers which form a staple of food among the hill tribes.” There are the multitudinous uses of the bamboo and the feeding power of the plantain and the wild date-palm. We never knew India, but we once knew Northern India pretty well. We had known there what a treasure-house is a jungle of the dhák (*Butea frondosa*), which in one district covers 50,000 acres. From the wastes and jungles come wood for ploughshares, rollers, bedsteads, hoops of sieves, well-curbs, scoops for lifting water, ox-yokes, wooden bowls (as those in daily use for kneading dough), pipe-stems (the hookah holds a foremost place in the social and domestic economy of the land), prongs and teeth of agricultural implements, for the churn-staff, for doors and rafters, and many another use. Except for the axle, the whole of the village cart may come out of them. From them come charcoal, gums, resins, dyes, medicines, varnishes, perfume-oils, bark for use in tanning, indigo-making, distillation. Bud and blossom and flower, leaf and root, all come of use as food for man and beast. The leaves of the dhák are made use of as platters and to wrap sweetmeats in. From the leaves of the wild date-palm are made hand-fans and mats, both articles in much use. There are the numerous grasses, used for thatching, from which are made chairs and boxes and screens, mats, winnowing-pans, string, rope, which

supply fodder and hay, the seeds and roots of some of which are eaten by the people on fast-days. The value of the jungle and waste is seen when they are no longer at command by reason of closing, cutting down, or breaking up. A village is often the worse for extension of cultivation, for then comes the need of stall-feeding. Much hardship has often been inflicted upon the people by the closing of forests by the Government, more especially when the new enactment, like so many others, sanitary, fiscal, municipal, is dumped down suddenly on them. And in this connection we have to consider the value of the labour of the peasant's wife, apart from her purely domestic duties, in spinning, husking, grinding. It cannot be ignored. As of old in the days of the prophet, so now in the part of India we know, the sound of the mill-stones is the sound of life; its ceasing, the mark of desolation.

Then there are the products of the waters. The whole of the population is ichthyophagous; the Hindoos all eat fish. There is the enormous coast-line. There is the reticulation of inland rivers, the swamps and lakes of varied extent and character. How can we think of the food-supply of the province of Bengal, which forms one-third of the whole Empire of British India, contains one-fourth of the whole population, without reference to the fish? That is so; it is not so commonly understood how largely the same fact has to be taken into consideration further inland, far higher up. From Bengal go half-way up to the historic watershed between the river systems of the Ganges and the Indus, and in the one district of Azimgarh you are told that there "some twenty lakes or swamps yield much fish." Go up to that very watershed, and you are told that fish abound in the Jumna and in most of the village ponds, that there are no less than thirty-five different kinds of fish "eaten in the tract," "used for food." The *jheels* and the *tanks*, the larger or smaller water-covered areas, yield other produce too, such as the water-nut.

We do not see how any exact statement of the Agricul-



tural Income of the whole of India, with its vast and diversified area, is to be arrived at. The income of the individual unit is not known. We lived for years in close contact with the peasantry ; we knew cultivators who were very well off, pretty well off, and very badly off—the prayer for daily bread is a very old one, and has to be put up still by the mass of the human race—the condition of the people was of great public and private moment to us. From the nature of our work we had constant dealings, on a very large scale, with labourers and artisans and with cultivators ; we paid the former wages, received from the latter dues. We never knew the income of a cultivator ; we never heard it mentioned, never saw it written down. There have been plenty of estimates of it ; they are being made daily in some parts of India, but there is no exact cultivator's income as there is an exact artisan's wage ; it depends on varying circumstances, varies continually, and cannot be represented by an exact cash sum per annum or per diem. In the same tract there are great differences in the habits, made rigid by caste, of the people. Some of the agriculturists of Northern India may eat fowls, some may not. Poultry and eggs may or may not count for much in the rural economy. Some eat field-rats. In Bengal the Rajputs "eat *kachi* food—*i.e.*, rice, dal, fish or flesh cooked in water by a Brahmin." The caste rules affect the condition of the people. With regard to the additional resources of the waste and forest, local custom determines to what extent they help the income of the actual cultivator or are availed of only by the other members of the village community, the handicraftsmen, whose income would count as non-agricultural. And so with regard to the fish : here the cultivators may catch them, there they may not.

Nor do we see how any estimate can be made of the Non-agricultural Income of the whole of India, with its multitudinous variety of employment. When Lord Cromer and Sir D. Barbour set forth their calculation of 1881, their plain, open assumption of the non-agricultural income

showed that even they, with all the sources of information at their command, were not able to make even an estimate of it. How make an estimate of the income of all the members of the village community, apart from the actual cultivators, with all their aids, dues, benefits, vails, donations, perquisites, their receipts in kind and their payments in labour? How determine the income of the large class who receive a certain proportion of the grain produced, and the skins of all the animals which die in the village, except those which die on Saturday or Sunday, and the flesh of those that are cloven-footed—the flesh of the whole-footed going to another class—and who make payment, not only by the labour of their own person or that of another, but also by supplying two pairs of shoes a year to the ploughman and two to the woman who brings the bread into the fields, one leather rope and one whip in the half-year; while for the boon and benefit of the dead animal they have to make return to the owner of one pair of shoes for an ox and two for a buffalo? How can you tell what the village barber receives for the discharge of his important and delicate functions when so much of it depends on the number of betrothals and marriages? How estimate the profits of the grain-dealer and the money-lender? They are not open-mouthed on the subject. How estimate the earnings of all the makers and sellers, of the handicraftsmen, of the itinerant dealers, the pedlars, the large tradesmen, the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers? Among the commercial and industrial classes, everywhere, there is an objection to making the earnings known. In India, owing to political conditions, the concealment of wealth has been, for ages, a habit and a principle. How estimate the income of those engaged in household service—over eleven millions—the barbers and washermen, the ear-pickers and eye-cleaners, and tattooers; of those fourteen and a half millions engaged in occupations connected with food, drink, and stimulants, the fishermen, grain-dealers, grain-parchers, pulse preparers, vegetable and sugarcane sellers,

sweetmeat sellers, kabob makers, cardamom, areca-nut, and betel leaf and tobacco sellers ; of the two million oil-pressers and sellers, the million fire-wood and fodder collectors and sellers ; of the carvers in wood and stone, paper-makers, toy and kite and bird-cage and hookah makers ; the half million necklace and armlet and garland makers—these are the lac and glass bangle makers, not goldsmiths and silver-smiths ; of those connected with metals and precious stones ; of the twelve and a half millions connected with textile fabrics and dress ; of those connected with glass and earthenware and stoneware, among them two million “potters, clay-image and pipe-bowl makers and sellers” ; of the four and a quarter millions connected with “wood, cane, and matting” ; of those connected with drugs, gums, resins, pigments ; of the three and a quarter millions connected with leather, horns and bones ; of those engaged in commerce—bankers, money-lenders, money-changers, merchants, five millions of them ; of the two and a half millions connected with carts, palkis, pack-bullocks, pack-camels, elephants and mules, boats and barges ; of the priests, exorcists, hail-aversers, amulet and charm preparers, religious mendicants, inhabitants of monasteries, circumcisers, astrologers, genealogists, horoscope casters, diviners ; of those connected with medicine or law, with music, acting and dancing—four and a half millions in all ; of those connected with sport—shikaris, bird-catchers, pigeon fanciers, buffoons, ballad reciters, conjurers, acrobats, wrestlers ; of those connected with building, earth work, general labour—twenty seven and a half millions ; of the million and a half connected with indefinite and disreputable occupations ; of those of independent means—how ? The population is mainly agricultural, but by no means wholly so.

The Income forms the dividend. The Population forms the divisor. The result of the division is an arithmetical figure. It seems to be regarded and looked at as if it were an actual fact—the actual income of an actual person. Strong feelings are aroused. A man with only a halfpenny a day

to live on! The writer of the paper puts the dreadful fact into capitals—One Halfpenny. But he might as well have used the capitals for threepence or a half-farthing—rather, for these would be the more numerous. As quoted above, the one halfpenny per head per day is said to be obtained “after allowance has been made for the income of the rich and well-to-do people.” It is not stated how this income is arrived at; the allowance is made, apparently, by reducing the population by an assumed figure. At all events, the rich and well-to-do are eliminated; but the non-earners—the beggars, the old and infirm, the infants—are not. The separation of the well-off from the remainder of the population gives an income which marks the dividing-line; it is the highest income of those below the well-to-do. Suppose this to be 5d.; then in the series of the incomes of the populations dealt with we have these three figures—5,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 0—fivepence, one halfpenny, no pence, at the top or beginning, in the middle, and at the bottom or end. Going upwards from the middle term you would have incomes of twopence, threepence—many millions of them, for you are dealing with hundreds of millions—up to fivepence as your limit; going downwards you would have incomes of one farthing, half-farthing, quarter farthing, down to 0 as your limit. In fact, in the descending scale you would have one-tenth farthing, one-hundredth farthing. That is absurd. It is so, even though the cowree used by the people in their transactions is one two-hundredth part of a penny, because there is a minimum living wage. The infinitesimal transition to the 0 is correct mathematically, in reality it is abrupt; a man must have a certain earning or he becomes a beggar. In other words, the calculation as made here does *not* give the income, the means of living, as it seems to be assumed to do. It takes in incomes and non-incomes, earners and non-earners; it assigns the same income to the non-worker as to the worker, to the infant in arms as to the able-bodied. The figure arrived at is erroneous; it errs by defect. If non-workers are taken into the calculation, the result may

fall any distance below the minimum living wage; if only workers, it ought not to do so or the data are wrong. That is a very important figure, the minimum living wage; it is not to be arrived at by calculations devious and much liable to error; it is a matter of common knowledge in each separate section of the land. The little community in which we lived for so many years, that of our servants, reflected the state of things around; it had its rich and well-to-do and poor—those who got Rs. 12 and 10 a month; those who got Rs. 7 and Rs. 6, or Rs. 4 and Rs. 3 (a boy) a month. The affluence, or otherwise, of the last was dependent on the cost of flour—on the seasons.

In considering the connection between the estimated income and the population, the latter, especially in the East, must be taken as consisting not of individuals, but of families. The family group is the unit of living. If we take this to consist of four persons, then the first calculation of Rs. 17 per head per annum becomes Rs. 68 per family, or Rs.  $5\frac{2}{3}$  a month; the Rs. 10 per head per annum becomes Rs. 40 per family, or Rs.  $3\frac{2}{3}$  a month. In Northern India this last would represent the minimum, and so as an average would be too low.

We come now to the Rate of Exchange, to the transference of the above sums into English money. By what rate shall we exhibit the income of the whole of India in English coinage? "While for purposes of internal exchange the rupee counts still for 2s. and still buys labour, land, and food, and wheat, to that amount in the country, its price abroad has varied from under 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d." "The cheapness of silver, in the meantime, operates as a bonus for Indian production generally, and especially to wheat." "Having regard to the appreciation of the silver value of agricultural produce, the rise in the incidence of the revenue per acre in cultivation is very moderate." This appreciation will not act equally in all parts—in a remote isolated tract as in the Punjâb. The Indian trader who imports loses as the agriculturist who exports gains. If we take

the £1 = Rs. 10, Rs.  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , Rs. 15, then 1d. =  $\frac{2}{3}$  anna,  $\frac{5}{8}$  anna, 1 anna; and 1 anna =  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.,  $\frac{1}{5}$ d., 1d. The daily wage of unskilled labour stands still in Northern India at 2 annas a day, as it has stood during the period of the above changes, in which it would show as 3d.,  $2\frac{2}{3}$ d., 2d.—as varying. We have only to point to the difficulties connected with the matter. We are not concerned with them ourselves. We regard the presenting of these estimates of daily earning in English money as most delusive and misleading. They lead to that earning being judged of from an English standpoint, notwithstanding the enormous difference in circumstances, domestic and other. Only 2d. a day for a family of four—a halfpenny a head. How dreadful! Yes, Here. But they live There. We look on such presentations as a gross deception, as an outrage on the feelings of the kindly disposed towards India in England.

We have nothing to say about Lord Curzon's estimate of Rs. 32 per head per annum, because the details of the calculation are not given, and we never accept such figures without having the details to judge by. But with regard to it, as with regard to all the other figures, all divergent, we have to ask, What is the good of it? Is a similar figure set forth with the Budget statements of other nations—England, France, Italy, America? India is as large as Europe less Russia. What would be the value of a figure that professed to set forth the annual income per head of England, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Roumania, Montenegro, Holland, Italy, Sweden, and all the other States combined? What would be the value of such a figure for England? It would not show that in a parish adjoining the one in which we write one man in ten is a pauper. The geography book says of India: "Amidst such a variety of peoples, every stage, from the oldest and highest Oriental civilization down to barbarism, nearly approaching the lowest forms of savage life, is represented." You cannot add civilization to barbarism and divide by two. Averages must be founded on things similar. How present a common income for people

whose wants and requirements and manners and customs, mode of life, sources of sustenance, differ completely, as their places of abode differ, because those differ? How throw Burmese, Punjabis, Bengalis, Bhils, Gonds, the men of Oudh, Jats, Todas, Khonds, Waralees, Kulkurees, Mah-rattas, Pathans, the men of the Himalayan slope and of the coast-line, of the forests and the plains, into hotch-pot? What would be the value of such a figure for Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the North-West (now United) Provinces, the Punjáb, Burma, all the great Provinces, for each separately? What the value of the average of those figures? What is the use of the average figure in India itself? It does not show local conditions—may help to conceal them. There may be a rise in the figure and great distress in one Province. You have to fall back on the local, the particular, on the figures from which the average is derived; to give those would be of far greater interest and value. The condition of India is as useless a phrase as the condition of Europe. We never knew India. We knew the North-West (now United) Provinces very well. We look at the Administration Report of 1899-1900, and we do not think the condition of things exhibited there compatible with an income of under a rupee a month. The enormous volume of trade, the importation of silver for ornaments, the millions travelling on the railroads—but we go beyond our intent and purpose; we have nothing to do here with the condition of the people. What is the use of this average figure out of India? It leads to false impressions, false deductions. It has led to a proposal for sweeping away the Educational Department in India. Certainly if a man has only a half-penny a day to live on it is very hard for him to have to give some of that small sum to keep up such a department—to be deprived of the value of the labour of his children by sending them to school. The filling of the stomach first, before School Inspectors, and English Magistrates, Police, an English Army, High Courts, Bishops, an Archbishop, Hospitals, Dispensaries; food before physic; before Rail-

roads, Telegraphs, Canals, Roads. We see no use in the figure ; we hold it a harmful absurdity.

We have to dwell on two points : The first is that this paper of ours has nothing whatsoever to do with the condition of the people of India, be that what it may. We deal here only, in strictest limitation, with the setting forth of that condition in one figure, and the means of arriving at that. The second point is that we demur to the inference in our own case—as made in another—that anyone not accepting these figures is a callous-hearted wretch, caring nothing for the good of the people of India. We make no violent asseverations, as does the writer of this article in *East & West* ; none of the appeals to the Deity of which he is so fond, and which accord ill with figures—the Rule of Three and the Ruler of the Universe : the conjunction is not agreeable or proper. We only say we yield to no one in our desire for the good of the people of India, the land we lived in longest. We have the deepest interest in the prosperity of that people—have always had ; have worked for it ; have, in the regions where we worked, promoted it, as provable by figures.



## INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AS VIEWED BY MESSRS. DADABHAI, DIGBY AND DUTT.

By A. ROGERS.

THE names of these three gentlemen are placed at the head of this article as being the protagonists of the present system of administration in British India, and it is particularly their opinions on the subject with which we desire to deal. The first is a Bombay Parsi merchant, settled for many years in London. The second is an Englishman, who has lived for some time in India, and was made a C.I.E. for good service in one of the Madras famines. The third is a native of India, and ex-member of the Bengal Civil Service, in which he rose to be Commissioner of the Province of Orissa.

Mr. Dadabhai is a representative of the Parliamentary Committee of the National Indian Congress in London. In his public addresses he dilates on the alleged misgovernment of India and its wrongs in general, the hardship of the limited employment of natives of India in the administration of their own country, the manner in which European competition has ruined indigenous industries, the enormous drain of India's wealth to England in payment of pensions and for various home charges, such as that of the payment of railway and other dividends, the maintenance of the non-combative branches of the army, and of the cost of the Indian Office, as well as all mercantile profits made out of their trade by European merchants.\* He acknowledges to a certain extent the blessings of British rule and of that *Pax Britannica* which alone prevents the members of the various nationalities, castes, and creeds throughout the country flying at each other's throats and striving for the supremacy, holding probably that the educated natives of the country could do

\* N.B.—He omits to mention the fact that he himself shares in these.

this equally well for themselves, and hold the scales of justice and toleration towards each other's feelings and religious persuasions equally fairly as the British. He deliberately keeps out of view the days, not many centuries old, when the triumphant creed of Islam forcibly converted to itself thousands of Hindus, and vainly thinks the intolerant spirit that could bring about such a state of affairs has disappeared for ever. He cannot conceive that there might occur such a circumstance as that of the Bhils of the Sâtpura Hills raiding the plains and towns of Khândesh because a Parsi collector of the province had left them to starve for months in consequence of his receiving no instructions from Government on his report as to the existence of famine among them. In speaking of the ruin of indigenous industries, he puts out of sight that any Government, native or otherwise, that professed to give liberty to its subjects would allow them to buy in the cheapest market, whether the competitors in it were foreign or not. He would probably not allow that there is a high sense of the worth of truth and honour to be learnt at an English mother's knee by a child, which is not to be found at that of an uneducated native lady, the absence of which can only be very partially counteracted by a certain amount of association by a native youth when studying for his examination in England with English men and women of culture, and which, if simultaneous examinations in England and India were allowed, could not be obtained in the latter. With regard to the drain of India's wealth to England, he would ignore the fact that a large proportion of it is simply interest for money expended in the opening out of the country by railways, etc., which the natives were unable to provide, for the pensions of educated Englishmen, who would not otherwise have come out, who have introduced into it the ideas of civilized government that have raised India to its present position among nations, and to provide payment for an office of central control, necessitated by the fact of its being of so vast an extent as

well as the natural place for the deposit of the profits of European trade, which the natives of the country are welcome to get rid of by free competition, and thus keep capital to expend for the benefit of India. Moreover, with regard to the employment of more natives in the administration of the country, is it not a fact that, with the exception of the superintending heads of offices, and a sufficient number of others being trained under them for that position, all Ministerial offices are held by natives? Are there not also many high offices, such as High Court judgeships and memberships of the several Legislative Councils, held by natives, and are these not gradually being extended as men prove themselves fitted for them by education and experience? One reason urged for the larger employment of natives in the administration is that their salaries need not be on the liberal scale necessary to attract Europeans to the services. Let us put this to the test by proposing that a native Collector should receive a First Assistant's pay or a Revenue Commissioner a Collector's, and there will be an immediate outcry that the natives are unfairly treated, and if they do the same work as European officers they are entitled to the same salaries and pensions. Letting alone all this, has it not already been made manifest by experience that a manly, high-spirited inhabitant of the Punjab or the frontier provinces will not submit to be governed by a Bengalee Bábu or effeminate Parsi or Deccanee Brahmin? He would say that the examination he would have to undergo would test a native's capacity for rule generally over all classes. But is such the case? Is it not merely an attempt to discover how much book-learning an examinee has managed to cram into his head to prove that he is intellectually up to the mark, and is his passing it in any way a test of the *morale* that he should possess to fit him to be a ruler of men?

It will be said, How is this to be ascertained? We reply, In the same manner as it has been in the case of natives, who have succeeded as Prime Ministers of Native States,

by their actual work in comparatively subordinate positions. In the same way with natives who have gained admittance into the Civil Service in the open competitions, their fitness for the headship of an office may be ascertained, as far as capacity for forming right judgments in everyday matters is concerned, by the manner in which their ordinary duties are conducted ; but their promptitude in action, sound sense in things beyond the ordinary routine, discretion, and readiness to accept responsibility, without which an Indian Civilian can never become a valuable servant of the State, must be tested in other ways by their immediate superiors in office. The employment of a large army, consisting largely of European soldiers, to protect the North-Western Frontier of India, is another favourite topic for the declamation of Mr. Dadabhai and those who think with him ; and on this point I am to a certain extent in accord with his views. It is alleged that the loan of a large portion of the European army lately for military operations in South Africa and China is a proof of this force being unnecessarily strong, and that it might accordingly be considerably reduced, to the saving of the finances of India. What is the strength of the European force that should be held in hand in India, in case of any disturbance in Afghanistan or the North-Western Frontier, or in case of a threatened invasion from beyond, is a question for military experts, which it is unnecessary for us to discuss at present ; but considering the enormous advantage to the Empire of having such a force in the East, ready for emergencies, as exemplified in two very recent cases, of that force being already acclimatized, and India thus serving as a training-ground for a large army, it is only fair that the British Exchequer should bear a large share of its cost, and thus save India's finances to that extent. The cost is not only heavy, but it is increasing ; for within the last year the additional expense of throwing on India the extra charge of improving the British soldier's position, by making up his pay to a full shilling a day, without the

deductions hitherto made from it, has been unexpectedly sprung upon it. Many praiseworthy endeavours have been made to bring the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the British Parliament to a sense of their duty in this respect, but unfortunately in vain. In this matter the Government of India and the Secretary of State are not to blame, and it is to be hoped the Ministry will soon listen to reason and do India justice. As a matter of course, Mr. Dadabhai joins forces with other detractors in declaring that our system of administration is grinding down the people of India by the weight of unjust taxation, in the shape of land revenue, salt tax, etc. This point will be noticed hereafter, when the charges of Messrs Digby and Dutt have been dealt with.

Mr. Digby's chief object is to prove, by means of certain statistics, that the natives of India have been reduced to a state of semi-starvation, through our fiscal measures. Before entering on this subject, it will be as well to point out broadly that, of all methods of endeavouring to ascertain the condition of a vast agricultural population, such as that of India, spread over millions of square miles, and raising innumerable products, in climates varying from the tropic to the temperate, on every variety of soil from the richest alluvial to what is impregnated with salt and will hardly grow the coarsest grass, that of making use of average returns of crops, selling for prices that are continually varying, is above all the least trustworthy, and most likely to lead to error.

It appears that when the Marquis of Ripon was Governor-General of India, Lord Cromer, then Sir E. Baring and Financial Member of his Council, prepared an estimate of the average incomes of the people in 1881-82—that is, about twenty years ago.

The agricultural income was put at	£291,666,666
The non-agricultural           ...    ...	145,833,333
Total                           ...    ...	<u>£437,499,999</u>

By what methods this calculation was made, or on the basis of what population, is not stated. The data on which the estimate was based have been withheld from publication, and their production repeatedly refused when asked for in the House of Commons. At this we are in no way surprised, for they must be of the vaguest and most unsatisfactory character, for, in addition to what is noted above with regard to the uncertainty of estimates of crop produce, on what data approaching to reliability could the estimate of the income of non-agriculturists have been put down at exactly one-half of that of the agricultural population? However, on this estimate it was then estimated that the receipts of the year, if equally divided, gave £2 5s. for each man, woman, and child for twelve months' living, comprising, according to Mr. Digby, every personal, religious, household, municipal, village, and national need, or slightly less than 1½d. a day. Mr. Digby has himself made another estimate of Indian income—again it is not shown by what methods, and on the basis of what population; but it is generally stated to have been arrived at by casting his net of inquiry and investigation very wide, and making the meshes very small, that nothing might escape—this is as follows :

Agricultural income	...	...	£174,817,645
Non-agricultural income	...	...	84,914,802
Total	...	...	£259,732,447*

The former estimate is considered by Mr. Digby a fair starting-point, and from it the income of the people has dropped by his own estimate of the present day by about £180,000,000, or to about ¾d. a day. This is the whole basis, these imaginary and entirely untrustworthy figures, on which Mr. Digby founds his charge of mal-administration of India against the Government. He not

\* It may be noted here, by way of showing the slipshod method of accounting adopted, that in Mr. Digby's pamphlet on the "Ruining of India" this total is given as £259,731,447.

only does this, but accuses Lord G. Hamilton of deliberately concealing the figures of this estimate in his Budget speech of August 16, 1901, in order to hide from the public the fact that the average Indian income had fallen from Rs. 30 to Rs. 17½ a year, the real reason being that the figures on which the assumption was based were beneath consideration.

We have, fortunately, in the Statistical Abstract relating to British India for 1898-99 returns by which the result of such a fall of income as that so confidently set forth by Mr. Digby can be tested. Taking the average for the ten years from 1889 to 1898 inclusive, we find that each prisoner in the gaols of the Bombay Presidency cost about 30 rupees 11 annas a year, or 1⅓ anna per diem, which is about 2½d. ; whereas the whole population of India, according to Mr. Digby's statistics, are living on ¾d. He has thus evidently proved far too much, and his statements are quite unreliable, for it is not to be believed that the food of the latter actually costs less than one-half the diet of an ordinary prisoner in gaol, much as he may be pampered.

True to his idea that the truth is to be found in averages, Mr. Digby quotes figures to prove that the yield per acre of rice and wheat in the various provinces in 1898-99 was less than the estimates, and that the cultivator has in the ten years from 1880 to 1890 sunk more deeply into debt, so that the manuring and vivifying of his fields have become impossible, the yield has greatly fallen off, only the produce of the irrigated area—now over 30,000,000 acres in extent—has served to maintain the total output to anything like the requirements of the people, at high prices, and the dry land cultivator, save in certain restricted tracts, has become a ruined creature. Mr. Thorburn (why this gentleman, who knows the Punjáb and no other part of India, should be lugged in by the heels on every possible occasion to support Mr. Digby's views is unaccountable, and shows those views are in need of every scrap of assistance they can pick up) declares that not only he (the said dry land cultivator), but many of the irrigation

cultivators are ruined beyond hope of recovery. This most cunningly-worded paragraph—in which cause and effect have as much to do with each other as Goodwin Sands and Tenterden steeple—is really not worth discussion, for with the exception that the cultivators are in debt, and that their indebtedness has to a certain extent been intensified only in certain restricted tracts by the occurrence of several years of scarcity, the whole of the assertions are put forward without any proof whatever. The real cause of increasing indebtedness will be noted hereafter, and remedies suggested. It is a pity that Mr. Digby, when finding fault with officials in India and England for not passing beyond the mere statement of general averages, and regarding the cultivator and his experience as the unit of examination and comparison, should not profit by his own admonitions. Shortly after this he asserts that, of the whole agricultural production only a small quantity is actually sold. So far from this being the actual fact in those parts of the country with which the present writer is acquainted, the cultivator is keenly alive to the state of the market, and watches most carefully the turn of prices in order to sell all but the small amount he requires for home consumption to the best advantage, *pace* Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, President of the National Indian Congress in 1901, whose authority, as that of a Bombay Parsi, we do not consider entitled to much weight. It is said to have been brought to the notice of the Bombay Government that in the four Deccan collectorates—probably those in which the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act is in force—the annual borrowings of the cultivator averaged £353,334,\* or 93 per cent. of the total assessment for the eight years from 1885 to 1892. This may or may not be correct; we do not commit ourselves to the accuracy of the figures. But Mr. Digby goes on to make use of them by applying them to the whole Presidency in the following manner: Land revenue,

\* In the statement given it averaged £347,837 in one place, and in another £358,000.



£1,959,934; 93 per cent. equals £1,822,667, the amount of the ryots' yearly borrowing.

Now, letting alone the arithmetical error there is in this calculation, on what reasonable ground can he claim to apply to the whole Presidency figures, correct or not, that appertain only to its four most unproductive collectorates? Apparently merely for the purpose of heaping up the atrocities of the administration; and we are rather astonished at his moderation in not taking for the base of his calculation the return of the land revenue for 1894-95 given in the Statistical Abstract, viz., £4,468,881, which would at 93 per cent. have brought the annual borrowing to the respectable sum of £4,156,059.

It would extend this article to an unreasonable length were we to enter into a discussion of the currency proceedings, which have finally resulted in fixing the exchange value of the rupee as against gold at 1s. 4d., in place of the nominal one of 2s. We prefer not to commit ourselves for the present to any opinion on the subject, but, as far as mercantile transactions are concerned, the policy has secured the benefit of a rate of exchange that only fluctuates slightly, and enables merchants to regulate their bargains on a tolerably stable and not a speculative basis.

We proceed to consider a few other points in Mr. Digby's paper on the "Ruining of India," a paper read by him at Westbourne Park on January 30 last, from which the above figures have been taken. Among the particulars in which India is said to have retrogressed during the last two decades there is given an item of £270,000,000 as the value of exports over imports. It is difficult to imagine why this should be so considered, for the country must have produced so much more than it required for home consumption, and sold it for a cash return, which we find in the bullion imported into the country; this, in the ten years 1889-90 to 1898-99, we find in the Statistical Abstract, amounted to 164,046,700 tens of rupees, and possibly as much more was imported in the other ten.

Again, what right has Mr. Digby to assume that in the 75,000 villages and towns of India there are few signs of prosperity? Has he visited any considerable number of them in order to enable him to form a reasonable opinion? The statistics collected at the revisions of the thirty-year Revenue Survey Settlements in the Bombay Presidency unmistakably show, in the increased acreage under cultivation, in the greater number of cattle, and in thatched huts converted into tiled houses, very great progress. It has certainly been retarded of late in some parts by the failure of the monsoon, but this, it is to be hoped, is only temporary, for previously to then Gujarât had not been afflicted with famine for over a century.\*

After more vague general calculations as to the sacrifice of what number of days' food the state of Indian affairs entails on the inhabitants of the country, the paper referred to winds up with a solemn warning as to what may happen if the money-lender, whom we by our system have called into existence (as if he had not always existed, and did not still exist in Native States not under that system), were to refuse for twelve months to make advances to the cultivators, the least evil to be dreaded being a break-up of existing institutions and the interference of England to recast everything administratively Anglo-Indian. It would seem, according to Mr. Digby, that a dimness of vision, incapacity and infirmity of purpose have taken possession of the Anglo-Indian hierarchy in England and in India, who, hypnotized by their adoration of the past, have proved themselves incapable of rightly appreciating the needs of the situation they have themselves created. In India, the wrong engendered by a racially selfish mode of rule has already reduced at least two-thirds of the people to a condition little better than that of the beasts that perish; but there is, fortunately, still time to save both nations, although the sands are fast running out, by a thorough

\* The present writer knew it from 1846 to 1877, and in that period there was nothing approaching to a famine.

inquiry into the existing state of affairs. This is the style of fervid but senseless oratory with which the ears of numerous public parochial meetings are now being regaled in England, and which we hope to be able to reduce to reason in the course of this article by a plain statement of facts.

There is great indebtedness among the agricultural population of India. There never was a time when there was not, and when they did not live from hand to mouth; but it is only within the last thirty years or so that the law of the land has given the money-lender such power as he now has to get them completely into his hands, bind them hand and foot, and make of them virtual serfs. The custom of the country—at all events, in the Bombay Presidency, in which the Famine Commission estimate that one-fourth of the *rayats* have lost their lands to their creditors—formerly was that money transactions were carried on by means of ordinary credit and debit accounts, balanced once a year, on which debts due were recoverable up to twelve years from the date of the last transaction. This gave the parties such ample time within which to make their mutual arrangements that the money-lender became a hereditary banker to the *rayat*, whose indebtedness ran on from father to son. They were thus mutually dependent on each other for their livelihood, and confidence was established between them which did not require the intervention of the Civil Courts to keep matters smooth. Suddenly, in 1871, in consequence of the passing of the Indian Limitation Law, the period of twelve years mentioned was reduced to three, and the immemorial custom of the country was broken through: the confidence of the parties in each other was at an end, and the money-lenders, knowing three years were too short a time in which to collect their debts in the old desultory way, took to insisting upon written bonds, many of which contained mortgages of their debtors' lands, or to promptly suing them in court. The result in the Deccan

was that the *rayats* were driven to desperation by the severe measures adopted against them, and by their being in many cases deprived of their lands, and broke out in 1875—that is, in about four years from the passing of the new law—into what are known as the Deccan Agricultural Riots, in which the property of the money-lenders, and especially their account-books and bonds, were the chief objects of attack. This led to the passing of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, in which the breach between the parties was endeavoured to be filled up by the appointment of conciliators, before whom claims for debts could be brought, instead of before the ordinary Courts of law, and compromises effected. This, after over twenty years of trial, is reported by Sir A. Macdonell's Commission to have been of little use,\* and the result of the Law of Limitation has been to transfer the property in a fourth of the land in the four Collectorates from the cultivators to the money-lenders. The latter, however, are so averse to taking upon themselves the responsibilities of landlords, that in the majority of cases the names of the original occupants still stand in the Government accounts, leading, as the Commission report, to difficulty in tracing the persons by whom the land revenue is actually due. This fact, however, points to a way out of the difficulties which will be noticed presently. In the Punjab the very opposite of this has taken place, and the money-lenders have been so eager to obtain possession of their debtors' lands that a special law has been passed to restrict the right of the cultivators to alienate their lands, as it appeared to the authorities in that province that the extent to which such alienation has been carried constituted a political danger. This has been followed by somewhat similar legislation in a modified form in Bombay. The effect must, of course, be narrowly watched in both cases, for there are many ways in which such laws can be observed to the eye, but

\* Even now the Indian papers announce fresh attacks, the victims of which are the money-lending classes in Násik and Poona.

in reality set at defiance. It should also be remembered that, although they may prevent a few from unnecessarily running into debt in consequence of their not having sufficient security to offer for the repayment of loans, it may at the same time deter perfectly solvent men from obtaining advances for the improvement of their lands, and this would not be for the benefit of the country in general.

The Famine Commission in paragraph 342 of their report recommend as follows :

1. The account between debtor and creditor should be investigated, and a fair sum should be fixed, to be paid by the former to the latter in liquidation of the debt.

2. The average produce of the holding should be ascertained, and its money value should be expressed in cash.

3. The surplus produce, after providing for the subsistence of the cultivator and his family and the necessities of cultivation, should be appropriated to the payment of debt, provided that such appropriation should not be continued after the lapse of a term of years.

4. In substitution for 1, 2, and 3, the holding should be made over, at the land-tax assessed, to the creditor in usufructuary mortgage for a term of years.

In either case the holding should be declared free of debt at the end of the term.

Such a method of proceeding would certainly go to the root of the matter ; but did the members of the Commission really stop to consider the utterly impracticable nature of their proposals ? Even if a Commission of experts were appointed to every Collectorate to make the necessary inquiries, it would take years to carry them out in the detail that hundreds of thousands of *rayats'* monetary transactions, going back probably for several generations, would require in order to arrive at the original debt. The matter has been allowed to go on too long—for more than a generation of thirty years, in fact—and if the innumerable complications that must have arisen during

such a period are taken into consideration, the impossibility of rectifying what has been done in the past is readily conceivable. The dead must bury their dead, and we can look to the future alone in order to prevent matters going from bad to worse.

As far as Bombay is concerned—and in any place where the majority of the money-lenders are foreigners, and accordingly disposed, like the Márwáris, not to undertake the responsibilities of landlords—it would be best and probably most in accordance with their own wishes, that the old twelve-years law should be reverted to, and they should be allowed to manage their money transactions with each other according to the immemorial usage of the country. For past dealings the Courts should be allowed, as has recently been legalized in England, to go behind the contracts, and only decree for such amounts as might appear equitable. The alteration in the limitation period need in no way affect other mercantile transactions, with regard to which matters would remain as they are, and the loan dealings between money-lenders and *rayats* be exempted by special exception. The result would probably be that, if landlords' responsibilities were strictly enforced against the former, a large portion of the land now held by them, but really cultivated by the latter, would revert to its original owners. The plan, in view of the impracticability of the scheme of the Commission, is at all events worth a trial.

We have yet to deal with the strictures and proposals of Mr. Dutt, which relate mostly to the system of assessment and realization of the land revenue. It is easy to perceive in all that he has written on the subject his predilection for the system of permanent settlement of that revenue existing in Bengal from the time of Lord Cornwallis, to which he has been accustomed. He, in fact, attributes most of the evils existing in the present day—even to the occurrence of famine itself, if that term is restricted to the case of the inability of the people to purchase food, and is

not taken to mean a dearth of food itself through the failure of rain—to the land revenue not being permanently fixed, but liable to periodical revisions. His arguments are really based upon the *post hoc propter hoc* system. Because there is a permanent settlement in Bengal, and there has been no famine for the last century or so in which loss of life has occurred through starvation, the latter fact is the effect, and the former the cause. This may aptly be thus parodied: There is no permanent settlement in Gujarát, and until the famine of 1899-1900 there had been no loss of life through a failure of the monsoon for over a century; therefore that failure and famine were due to the *rayatvâri* settlement.

The book that Mr. Dutt has published on "Famines in India" contains the opinions of himself and a number of others of varying authority on the question of assessments to the land revenue in India. Many of these are very much to the point and require serious attention, but contain matter to discuss which would require the space of several articles. We accordingly propose, whilst not acceding to the author's view that all periodical revisions of assessment have a tendency to enhance the demands of the State on the land, or denying that such enhancements, except where it can be proved that existing assessments have, for a specific purpose or otherwise, been pitched unreasonably low, should be regulated only by the improved position of the *rayats* through a general rise in the value of agricultural produce and more favourable markets and means of communication, to devote the remainder of the space at our command to the pointing out of such remedies for the future as appear suited to the circumstances.

First and foremost we would propose, as a means of checking the increasing subjugation of the *rayat* to the money-lender, a reversion to the old law under which suits for the recovery of loans by the latter, based on ordinary credit and debit accounts, can be brought in the civil courts.

up to twelve years from the date of the last transaction, in place of the three allowed under the Limitation Law of 1871. Together with this should go a permission to the Courts to go behind the contract and search out the original amount of debt, notwithstanding the existence of bonds by means of which the debt may have been increased, and not to decree beyond the *dám-dupat* (or interest equal to the capital) customary in the country.

The names of the actual owners of all lands should be recorded in the revenue accounts, and all responsibilities of landlords strictly enforced.

As far as the legal liabilities of individual *rayats* are concerned, these are the only general measures of relief that appear practicable, but they may be assisted by the action of the State in various ways.

Great care should be taken, in fixing the instalments by which the land revenue is collected, to do so in such a manner as to prevent, as far as possible, the necessity for a cultivator to borrow money from his banker wherewith to meet them, time being allowed him to take his crops to market and realize them before the instalment becomes due. In case of remission for a failure of crops having to be granted, it should be promptly given, and the amount struck off the village books without delay. A postponement of payment should be granted very sparingly, and only when the defaulter could look forward to the reaping of other crops to make up his deficiency. There can be no reason to doubt that the plan of postponement of payments has been one of the most common causes for the indebtedness of the *rayat*, for as long as there is a balance outstanding against him the Village Accountant will not unnaturally persist in pressing him for it, and he will constantly have recourse to the money-lender, especially if, as was apparently permitted by a late Circular Order in Madras, power to resort to coercive processes is given to the village authorities.

Everything must be done to improve the general



position of the *rayat*, so as to enable him to bear up at least against the first strain of a bad season : that he will ever bear that of a real famine, in which even grass for his cattle has not grown, we do not look upon as within the bounds of probability, however his circumstances may be bettered, for where such is the case he would be no better if he held his land absolutely rent-free. The only hope of his being able to stand a heavier strain than usual lies in improving his credit and providing a source from which he can borrow in case of necessity at reasonable rates of interest.

A great deal of nonsense has been talked as to getting rid of the money-lender altogether. To do so would be, in fact, to put a stop to all agriculture in India, for the agriculturist, as well as any tradesman, must have his banker. It has been already shown to what extent the present law facilitates the unscrupulous method of dealing common to the worst of the class ; but there is every hope that they will be brought to their proper bearings by the establishment of agricultural banks, or mutual credit societies on the *Raiffeissen* system, now successfully carried out in Germany and Italy, concerning which we have some words to say. The subject is one which the Government of India have lately taken up in earnest. Such societies will have to be started by the State with sufficient funds to enable them to commence operations, and these funds can be found in the sums annually granted as *takávi*, or advances, to the Collectors and their assistants to disburse as loans for agricultural purposes, but, to be successful, such institutions must be left to the management of the people themselves, with a minimum of interference on the part of Government authorities.

It has been recommended that a central bank should be established in every large town or head-quarters of a subdivision of a Collectorate (*tálúkah*), and be managed by a committee of retired Government officers, traders and other respectable men. To these should be affiliated

smaller banks, to be managed in each village by its Panchayat, or municipal committee, under the superintendence of the committees of the central banks. The loans to be made by these banks should—at all events in the first instance—be solely for agricultural purposes, but there is no reason why, when they are in complete working order, loans should not be made with other objects. As the members of the Panchayats would be personally acquainted with the disposition and means of every one to whom advances would be made, there need be no fear of their being expended on improper objects, or of the loans not being duly repaid. Special legal facilities might be given to these banks for the recovery of advances in taking preference mortgages of land, with the assistance of the regular revenue authorities, and an audit of accounts be made from time to time by auditors appointed by Government, to see that irregularities should not creep into the system of management, but otherwise in no way to interfere with that management. Habits of thrift should be promoted among agriculturists, by persuading them, wherever possible, themselves to become shareholders in these undertakings, and to invest their savings in them instead of their usual plan of buying gold and silver ornaments for their women. Other subsidiary arrangements would have to be made, preferably under a Legislative Act to be passed for the purpose, for rates of interest to be charged and paid, for forms of accounts to be kept, and for other details which it would be out of place to enter into here.

Another very important subject, which has been left to the last, is that of the provision of water and irrigation, which should, wherever practicable, include navigation for the cheap conveyance of bulky agricultural produce to market. A Commission appointed by the Governor-General is already considering the subject, and will no doubt propound various useful schemes for taking advantage of the vast stores of water that annually run to waste in the

monsoons ; but there are also minor points requiring to be noticed which would not come under their cognizance. One of these is that the beneficent plan legalized by the revenue law in Bombay, that the benefit of all improvements made in his land by any occupant at his own expense is to remain his for ever, should be put in force. In other parts of India only a temporary reduction of assessment is allowed to recoup him for his expenditure. The Bombay system should no doubt be carried out everywhere in order to encourage the investment of capital in the improvement of the soil. Another point, which has hitherto been entirely neglected, is that, even in streams which dry up immediately after the rains, and appear to consist of mere sandy beds, there is always more or less water running to waste under the sand, which, if the sand were cleared away and the bed-rock or clay at the bottom reached, would, if bunded up, be sufficient to provide reservoirs of water to drink, if not to save withering crops. This is a provision of Nature that certainly ought not to be neglected, and might be made a source of inestimable benefit to the country and its people, coupled with the proposal which it is rumoured the Irrigation Commission are making, that the supply of water for the shallow tanks throughout the country that run dry in the hot weather should be made certain by means of canals that will convey it to them during the freshes that come down in the larger rivers during the monsoon. There can be no doubt that the millions of tons of water wasted every year in India would, if utilized for irrigation, turn many parts of it into a veritable garden. Sir Arthur Cotton's grand scheme for the canalization of the whole of the country—estimated to cost £30,000,000, a mere trifle in comparison with the benefits it would confer, though now looked upon as Utopian—may in the end probably be carried out, and take its part in the conveyance of produce, which the railways, although they have done somewhat towards it, have been proved in the last famine to be quite inadequate to provide for efficiently, a fact of which the

present writer was an eye-witness. The mischief done by irresponsible croakers against the system of administration of British India, who give no credit for good intentions on the part of the powers that be, and think that if they themselves were entrusted with greater political authority they could easily rectify matters and introduce counsels of perfection, is very great, but fortunately does not penetrate far below the stratum of imperfectly educated men turned out in numbers annually by the Universities and Colleges. We are by no means opposed to the idea of more extensive employment of the natives in the government of the country, but they must first prove themselves fit for it in the school of municipal management, in which as a rule they have as yet shown themselves inefficient both in will and deed. Let other critics, such as Mr. Digby, remember that you can prove anything by statistics, and learn that the practical men who govern India do enter into details and particulars of the actual condition of the people, and do not rely on figures based on imperfect and really unattainable data, such as those which are set forth in his no doubt well-intentioned lucubrations.

## INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE: PAST AND PRESENT.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL W. B. BEATSON, M.D., M.R.A.S.,  
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### EARLY WRITERS AND EXPLORERS.

THE originators of the existing Government Medical Service in India must be sought for among the English adventurers who, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, followed in the footsteps of European traders, who were the geographical discoverers of the period.

Their romantic stories, especially those of the Mandevilles and the glowing accounts of the riches of the "gorgeous East" brought home by travellers who followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese, attracted in course of time the attention of English merchants towards India, and led English monarchs to seek alliance with the Princes of India. Our Henry VIII., our Queen Elizabeth, and her cousin James VI. sent Ambassadors to Akbar, the greatest and most enlightened of the Moghul Emperors of India.

Companies of European merchants trading to the East became established, and between the years 1610 and 1620 both Dutch and English were permitted to establish factories at Surat, very much to the disgust of the Portuguese, who had been settled on the Western Coast of India for nearly a century.

In 1638 a young gentleman of Holstein named Albert de Mandelslo, paid a visit to Surat, and found both the Dutch and English Presidents living in state in large houses like palaces, the senior merchants being furnished with chambers in the same mansions.

"Whenever the President went abroad, a banner was carried before him, and he was followed by merchants on

horseback, as well as by native attendants armed with swords, bucklers, bows and arrows."\*

With all this assumption of regal state, a Medical Service seems not to have been at first thought of, but the necessity for one must soon have become apparent, for the company of merchants trading to the East must have soon begun to suffer from the pestilential nature of the climate and the too great conviviality of their habits.

In the time of Mandelslo there was no Government Medical Service in India, but the elements of one were in existence, to be in due time brought into organization.

Medicine itself, in Asia and everywhere else, was in a state of chaos, and had to form line with other sciences in their march towards improvement.

In 1674 Surat was visited by John Fryer, a surgeon in the service of the East India Company. Fryer was a doctor of medicine, having graduated at Cambridge in 1671, and entered the Company's service in 1672. As a travelling physician he passed ten years in India and Persia, but not till sixteen years after his return to England could he be persuaded to publish an account of his wanderings. Doubtless he was painfully impressed by the miserable condition in which he found his countrymen in India before a true service of medicine was known or sanitation thought of.

These pioneers of civilization no doubt suffered much on their long and tedious voyages in ill-found and badly victualled ships, but greater dangers attended them on landing. The greatest of all was the pestilential nature of the climate, the absence of pure water, and the want of skilled medical assistance.

Living, as they must have lived, in low-lying districts and ill-kept cities, exposed to abundant filth emanations, tormented by the bites of mosquitoes, as infectious—if not more so—than those of the present day, the wonder is that they did not all perish from malignant tropical diseases.

\* Talboys Wheler, "Early Records of India."

Fryer, who, as before said, visited Surat and Bombay in 1674, says of the latter place : " There are no fresh-water rivers or falling streams of living water ; the water drunk is usually rain-water preserved in tanks, which decaying, they are forced to dig wells in which it is strained, hardly leaving its brackish taste ; so that the better sort have it brought from Massegong, where is only one fresh spring." After describing the districts lying on the " back side of the towns of Bombay and Mayim," the same writer says : " Under these uplands the washes of the sea produce a lunary tribute of salt left in pans or pits made on purpose at spring tides for the overflowing, and when they are full are incrustated by the heat of the sun."

" In the middle, between Parell, Mayim and Bombay, is a hollow wherein is received a breech running at three several places, which drowns 4,000 acres of good land yielding nothing else but samphire ; athwart which from Parell to Mayim are the ruins of a stone causeway made by penances."

" The people that live here are a mixture of most of the neighbouring countries, most of them fugitives and vagabonds, no account being here taken of them. Others perhaps invited hither (and of them a great number) by the liberty granted them in their several religions, which are solemnized with a variety of fopperies (a toleration consistent enough with the rules of gain), though both Moors and Portuguese despise us for it, here licensed out of policy, as the old Numidians to build up the greatest empire in the world. Of these one among another may be reckoned 60,000 souls ; more by 50,000 than the Portuguese ever could. For which number this island is not able to find provisions, it being most of it a rock above water, and of that which is overflowed little hope to recover it."

" However, it is well supplied from abroad both with corn and meat at reasonable rates, and there is more flesh killed here for the English alone in one month, than in

Surat for a year, for all the Moors in that populous city. The Government now is English; the soldiers have martial law, the freemen common; the chief arbitrator whereof is the President, with his Council at Surat; under him is a Justiciary, and Court of Pleas, with a Committee for regulation of affairs and presenting all complaints. The President has a large commission and is Vice-Regis; he has a Council here also, and a guard when he walks or rides abroad, accompanied by a party of horse which are constantly kept in the stables either for pleasure or service. He has his chaplains, physicians, surgeons and domestics; his linguist and mint-master. At meals he has his trumpets usher in his courses, and soft music at the table; if he move out of his chamber, the silver staves wait on him; if downstairs, the guard receives him; if he go abroad the Bandarines and Moors under two standards march before him."

"He goes sometimes in his coach drawn by large milk white oxen, sometimes on horseback, other times in palankeens carried by *Cohors* (Mussulman porters); always having a Sumbrero of state carried over him, and those of the English inferior to him have a suitable train. But for all this gallantry I reckon they walk but in charnel-houses, the climate being extremely unhealthy; at first thought to be caused by rotten fish (*Bubsho*), but though that be prohibited, yet it continues as mortal; I rather impute it to the situation which causes an infecundity in the earth and a putridness in the air, what being produced seldom coming to maturity, whereby what is eaten is undigested; whence follows fluxes, dropsy, scurvy, barbiery (which is an enervating of the whole body, being neither able to use hands or feet), gout, stone, malignant and putrid fevers, which are endemial diseases; among the worst of these Fool-Rack, brandy made of blubber, or Carvil, by the Portuguese, because it swims always in a blubber, as if nothing else were in it; but touch it and it stings like nettles; the latter because sailing on the waves it bears up like a



Portugal Carvil ; it is, being taken, a jelly, and distilled, causes those that take it to be fools."

"Notwithstanding this mortality to the English, the country people and naturalized Portugals live to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance ; indulging themselves neither in strong drinks nor devouring flesh as we do. But I believe we are here as exotic plants brought home to us, not agreeable to the soil ; for to the lustier and fresher, and oftentimes the temperatest the clime more unkind ; but to old men and women it seems to be more suitable."

Such a "mixed people" as those above described must have stood sore in need of sanitation to redress their clime, and of medicine to heal their sickness. Relief could be brought to them only by a well-organized and steadily maintained Government Medical Service. The necessity for such a service became evident when the English began to send merchants to the markets and Ambassadors to the Courts of the Princes of India.

#### EARLY SHIPS AND CHIRURGEONS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The ships that brought the merchants came at first from England annually, and in small numbers. Between 1607 and 1609 there arrived only two, the *Hector* and the *Ascension*, commanded respectively by Captains Hawkins and Alexander Sharpeigh. In 1615-16 came the *Expedition*, the *Dragon*, *Lyon*, and *Peppercorn*, which brought Sir Thomas Roe. This fleet was commanded by Keeling, and its voyage was described by Walter Payton, captain of the expedition. The ships that arrived in 1616, and sailed under the command of Captain Joseph, were the *Charles*, the *Unicorn*, the *James*, and the *Globe*.\*

By a treaty concluded between the Dutch and English East India Companies at London on July 17, 1619, after a

\* Orme.

tedious interchange of hostilities, the English were bound to send a fleet of ten ships to India, but in 1621-22 they were able to fit out only four. In the year 1624-25 the Company's voyage to India consisted of five ships, in 1625-26 of six, and in 1626-27 of seven. Some of them went into the Persian trade, and some into the Dutch East Indies. Their trade was not by any means prosperous under the caprice and extortions of the Persian magistrates.

In 1628-29, the English Company sent out five ships, three for the Persian, two for the Indian trade, and it is probable that, having regard to the sickness and mortality hitherto prevalent, the Company took greater care in the equipment of their vessels, and provided them with the most highly qualified medical officers procurable.

Some of the medical officers, it is said, were eagerly consulted by the rich Muhammadans of Surat and other places in the neighbourhood of the factories, and their fame was spread abroad till it reached the Courts of the Moghul Princes. It is further said that in the year of the Hijra 1046 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1636-37), a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan having been dreadfully burnt by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat through the recommendation of the Wazir Assad Khan to desire the assistance of a European surgeon.

For this service the Council at Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, who it is said immediately proceeded to the Emperor's camp, then in the Deccan, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess of the effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a great favourite of the Court, and having been desired to name his reward, he, with that liberality which characterizes Britons, sought not for any private emolument, but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade, free of all duties, to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country.

The above portion of the story of Gabriel Boughton and

the burnt Princess is extracted from Stewart's "History of Bengal." Stewart probably got it from a series of Company's letter-books containing the communications of the Court to their agents in India, and to their ship-captains, as preserved in the India Office, but these do not commence till 1653, and the first letter sent direct to Bengal is dated no earlier than February 27, 1658, and is addressed "to our Agent and Factor at Hughly."\*

Colonel Dow, who published a history of Hindustan in 1772, gives a different account of the accident to the Princess, and of the manner in which it was treated. Dow derived his information from Ferishta, a Persian, one of the most esteemed writers of Hindustan, of noble rank and high office at the Court of Ibrahim 'Adil, Shah of Beejapore, one of the Sultans of the Deccan.

According to Dow, in the year 1642-43, the Emperor Shah Jehan determined to remove his Court from Lahore to Agra, where he arrived in the month of November. The cavalcade which attended his progress was magnificent and numerous beyond description. The armies returned from the north were in his train, and half the citizens of Lahore, who, from his long residence in that place, were become, in a manner, his domestics, accompanied him on his march.

He pitched his tents in the garden of his favourite wife Mumtaz-i-Zeman, under shade of the cypresses surrounding the splendid mausoleum he had erected to her memory. Here he had endowed with lands a monastery of fakirs, whose business it was to take care of her tomb, and to keep for ever burning the lamps over her shrine. Nothing happened during nine months after the Emperor's arrival at Agra. Public business, which had been neglected through the alarm of the Persian war, received now too little attention. The Dewan-i-'Amm was neglected. The Emperor retired too frequently to the seclusion of the

\* Taken from Journal of Robert Hedges, as published by the Hakluyt Society.

zenana, too often neglected to attend to the execution of justice. But presently a son was born to Dārā the Imperial Prince. Shah Jehan, who loved his son, gave a magnificent festival on the occasion. His posterity began to multiply apace. A son was born to Aurangzeb, whom he named Muhammad Mauzim, and Murad had this year a daughter whom he called Zeb-un-Nissa, or the ornament of women. Dārā was seized with a violent fever which endangered his life. The Emperor's alarm for him had scarcely subsided when a dreadful accident happened to his eldest daughter, whom he loved above all his children.\*

Tavernier has recorded that this daughter, named Jehan Ārā, or the Begum Sahibeh, was very beautiful, a great wit, and greatly beloved by her father. He had so great a confidence in her that he had given her charge to watch over his safety, and to have an eye to all that came to his table. And she knew perfectly how to manage his humour, and ever in the most weighty affairs to bend him as she pleased. She was exceedingly enriched by great presents and by costly pensions, which she received from all parts for such negotiations as she employed herself in about her father, and she made also great expenses, being of a very liberal and generous disposition. She clung entirely to Dārā, her eldest brother, espoused cordially his part and declared openly for him, which contributed not a little to make his affairs prosper, and to keep him in the affection of his father, for she supported him in all things and advertised him on all occurrences, yet that was not so much because he was the eldest son and she the eldest daughter (as the people believed), as because he had promised her that as soon as he should come to the throne he would marry her, which is altogether extraordinary, and almost never practised in Hindustan.†

Some time after this, Tavernier goes on to say, the Begum Sahibeh "chose for her Khansamah—that is, her

\* Dow's "History of Hindostan," vol. iii, p. 179.

† Tavernier.

steward—a certain Persian called Nazir Khan, who was a young Amir, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole Court, a man of courage and ambition, the darling of all, insomuch that Chaest Khan, uncle of Aurangzeb, proposed to marry him to the Princess. But Shah Jehan received that story very ill, and besides that, when he was informed of some of the secret intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid himself of Nazir Khan. He therefore presented to him, as it were to do him honour, a betel which he could not refuse to chew presently, after the custom of the country. This young lord thought of nothing less than being poisoned. He went out from the company very jocund and content into his Palky, but the drug was so strong that before he came to his house he was no more alive.”\*

The probability of the story now becomes evident. Shah Jehan, himself a poisoner, was ever in dread of being poisoned. His daughter watched over him and tasted all his food.

“Returning one night from visiting her father, to her own apartments in the harem, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire, and as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she was scorched in a terrible manner. She rushed into the harem in flames, and there were no hopes of her life. The Emperor was much afflicted ; he gave no audience for several days. He distributed alms to the poor, he opened the doors of prisons, and he for once became devout, to bribe Heaven for the recovery of his favourite child. He, however, did not in the meantime neglect the common means. Anit Alla, the most famous physician of the age, was brought express from Lahore, and the Sultana, though by slow degrees, was restored to health.”†

It appears, then, that Gabriel Boughton could have had

\* Tavernier. † Dow's "History of Hindostan," vol. iii., p. 179.

no opportunity of treating the burnt Princess, but in fairness to his memory his story, as related by Stewart, which has become the staple of the popular historians of India, has been already quoted.

Stewart adds : " In the year 1639-40 the Prince Shuja, having taken possession of the government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajmahal to pay his respects to His Royal Highness ; he was most graciously received, and one of the ladies of the harem, being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery."

Owing to this event Mr. Boughton was held in high esteem at the Court of Rajmahal, and by his influence with the Prince was enabled to carry into effect the order of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or by some underhand method rendered nugatory.

In the year 1050—*i.e.*, A.D. 1640-41—a ship came from England, and brought out a Mr. Bridgman and some other persons for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr. Boughton, having represented the circumstances to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr. Bridgman ; that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajmahal, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish factories at Ballasore and Hoogley, in addition to the one at Piple. Some time after this event Mr. Boughton died, but the Prince still continued his liberality to the English.

This extract from Stewart's " History of Bengal " furnishes the earliest account of the story of Gabriel Boughton (who is not mentioned by Dow), but it cannot be traced to any authority now accessible.

The extract certainly makes some confusion of authentic dates and circumstances, but apart from that confusion it shows that Gabriel Boughton was a real person, who acquired the favour of Shah Jehan and members of his family. It gives no authority for the statement that Mr. Boughton treated a daughter of the Emperor suffering from an accident of fire, or for the patriotic direction given

by that gentleman to the Great Moghul's proposed remuneration of his skill, anticipating so closely the conduct more authentically related of a brother of his noble craft, three-quarters of a century later, Mr. William Hamilton. It will be seen a little further on that the despatch of Boughton from Surat took place not in 1636, but in the beginning of 1645, and that he was sent to Agra, and not to the Emperor's camp, then in the Deccan (as Stewart states), a circumstance that seems to have been imagined in order to render less impossible the intervention of so vast a distance, to be twice travelled over, between the demand for a European surgeon and his arrival in time to treat successfully the injuries received by the Princess.

The true version of Gabriel Boughton's mission to Agra, and its end, may be gathered from a letter which has been preserved "from President and Council at Surat to Company, dated Swally Mareene, the 3 January, 1645."

"ASSALAUT CKAUNE, a very great Vmbra, gracious with the King and our very good friend having long importuned us to supply him with a Chirurgeon wee Consideringe how advantageous itt may be unto you, and having a fit opportunity, one Gabriel Boughton, late Chirurgeon of the Hopewell being thereunto very well qualifeyed and being willinge to stay, wee have thought fitting to designe him to that service, wherewith ASSALAUT CKAUNE is so well pleased that lately when Mr. Turner was to leave Agra he accompanied Mr. Tash and Mr. Turner to the King who honoured them more than ordinary in a long conference he held with them, dismissing them with Vests, and sending unto the President a ffirmán and dagger, which not being yett received wee know not what the former may import or the Latters valew, but shall hereafter advise, and if the dagger be of any considerable worth it shall be sent to you with the jewell before advised the Prince lately sent unto the President, both expected by Mr. Turner."

This is all that can be found on the matter. The next Surat letter (March 31, 1645) has no reference to the

subject. In a later one, dated January 3, 1645-46, there is allusion to the dagger and jewel spoken of in the preceding letter, but there is no mention either of Boughton or of the firman. The discrepancy in dates cannot now be reconciled.

The next extract but one from the records shows Mr. Boughton transferred to Bengal, and there apparently using his influence to serve his countrymen. Some light is thrown upon this by the latter part of the passage from Stewart's "History of Bengal" before quoted, but there also the dates are wrong, and circumstances are detailed for which the authority cannot be traced.

In a later letter we find the Masulipatam agency testifying their sense of Mr. Boughton's favours, past and to come, by a *peshcash* of gay apparel. The word is a singular one to use in relation to an ex-employé; but it will be seen that it is offered to him as the servant of the Prince Shah Shuja.

"From Masulipatam Council to Mr. James Bridgman, etc., Ballasore.

"Dated Metchlepatam, the 25 February, 1650-51.

"Alsoe you may take notice of 3 Guze of Scarlett and 16 yards of gould and silver lace in Wm. Bennis his custody the which demand of him and present as a *piscash* from us to Mr. Gabriel Boughton whoe being the Prince's Servant, wilbe doubtless a great help unto you to gain his ffirmiand, which wee cannot coniecture wilbe difficult to bee obtained considering the very great present you have given already, farr in value exceeding what used to bee given in preceeding yeares."

Subsequent to the date of the foregoing extract Gabriel Boughton ceases to be heard of. What became of him may be guessed from a letter of the Court to Fort St. George, December 31, 1657.

The Court writes thus: "It is that wee much desire to be satisfied in and that we might have the certain knowledge if possible in all particulars of those dishonest actions



committed by Mr. Bridgman and his partners by whose unwarrantable proceedings you now write our ffactors in the Bay are much troubled by one William Pitts who married the Relict of Gabriel Boughton who having taken up monies at interest of the Moores they very much pressede the payment thereof out of our estate but we hope you have so manadged this business and given such advice to our factors that hath armed them with such arguements as to enable them to withstand and to oppose such unjust and unreasonable demands."

It is now easy to estimate the value of the service rendered by Gabriel Boughton to the East India Company, and the greatness of the sacrifice he made in their behalf. There can be no doubt that they knew him to be a good physician and a capable diplomatist, and they thought that by making use of his professional abilities they would be able to secure a political success and to remunerate their medical officer without additional expense to themselves. In both of these expectations, however, they were disappointed, for the Court of the Moghul was not only the most magnificent in the world, it was also perhaps the meanest. It received the most costly presents, and often gave in return a piece of muslin, an embroidered handkerchief, or a paltry medal.\*

Boughton received no doubt many promises with regard to the commercial disadvantages under which his countrymen laboured, but it seems quite clear that the coveted firman was never granted to him. In 1676, more than twenty years after Boughton's death, the Company's agent wrote: "There does not appear that there was ever any firman or royal command, but only a Nishan or letter from Prince Shuja, and purwanas or warrants from the governors of the provinces." At the same time he expressed a fear that the trade would be ruined for want of such authority, and allowed that the English had hitherto carried on their trade freely without any right to be exempted from payment

\* J. Talboys Wheeler

of customs. It was therefore determined to make an effort to obtain an Imperial firman. This was at last procured from Aurangzeb in 1680, after a disbursement of bribes to his officers of 50,000 rupees. By this the English were made free of customs in all places except Surat.

And now what became of one Gabriel Boughton, late surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*? His high qualification as a physician and his fitness for employment as a diplomatic agent having been recognised by the President and Council at Surat, he was sent by them on a dangerous and difficult service to the Court of the Moghul. He appears to have performed his professional duties to the satisfaction of all concerned, but he was unable to obtain for the factors the trade advantages they sought. He was therefore superseded and thrown into association with men who were afterwards dismissed for dishonest actions and unwarrantable proceedings. All that can be ascertained about the end of Gabriel Boughton is that he died and that his relict was remarried to one William Pitts, who gave much trouble to the factors by making claims on account of the services of his predecessor. Gabriel Boughton died a martyr to his zeal in the service of the factors at Surat, and his name passed into unmerited oblivion.

#### EARLY EMBASSIES TO THE MOGHUL COURT, AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR FAILURE.

Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century the English had no territorial possessions in any part of India. Very soon, however, they established factories for trading purposes at Surat, on the eastern side of the Gulf of Cambay, the seaport of which was at Swally, on the right bank of the mouth of the river Taptee.

Previously the regular European trade in the East was carried on by Portugal, England and Holland, under the name of their respective East India Companies. But there was a large irregular trade carried on by European adventurers on their own private account without sanction of

King or charter. In consequence of this the merchant ships became privateers and fought whenever they met, each nationality contending to protect its own merchandise and to ruin the trade of all other adventurers or interlopers, as they were called.

Moreover, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the power of the Portuguese was predominant on the western seas of India, insomuch that they made prize of all vessels which had not taken their pass. The merchants who were fortunate enough to escape the dangers of the seas and the attacks of pirates fell into the hands of the Moghul Viceroy at Surat and his officials. These had to be bribed before they would allow cargoes to be landed, and afterwards they exacted heavy duties on both imported and exported goods. Under such circumstances a remunerative trade at Surat could not well be carried on without assistance from the ruling powers in England.

A naval force was required to subdue the pirates; Ambassadors to arrange treaties of commerce and mutual goodwill; medical officials to heal the sickness of the people. In the year 1607 the English East India Company, incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, received a new charter from James I., who sent out armed ships, and Ambassadors to the Court of the Great Moghul.

The first English ship which came to Surat was the *Hector*, commanded by Captain William Hawkins, who brought a letter from the Company, and another from the King, requesting the intercourse of trade. The Viceroy at Surat, after raising many objections, gave Hawkins permission to dispose of his cargo, but forbade him to bring any more goods to India, or to establish a fort or factory on shore, without the permission of the Emperor. However, notwithstanding all the menaces of the Portuguese, he did not dare to disobey the Moghul's order that Hawkins should appear personally at the Imperial Court.

Accordingly, on February 1, 1609, he set out for Agra,

travelling in continual fear of poisoning, or assassination by his attendants, at the instance of the Portuguese, whose jealousy followed all his steps. Arrived at Agra, Hawkins, who seems to have been much fitter to fight the Portuguese at sea than to counteract their intrigues at the Moghul Court, where they had Jesuits of great subtlety, entered Jehangir's service, accepted a wife out of his seraglio and a promise of pay and pension, still retaining the pretension to the character he had assumed, of Ambassador from the King of England. He received frequent assurance of the privileges he solicited for the Company's trade, which were constantly retracted without apology. At length he lost hope, formally demanded his dismissal from the Moghul, and requested an answer to the letter brought from the King; this was denied, but he was permitted to depart, and arrived at Cambay on December 11, 1611, accompanied by the brothers of his wife to prevent him from carrying her farther.

It must be recorded, to the honour of Hawkins, that he refused to abandon the wife he married from the Moghul's seraglio. Procuring two Jesuits on mission at Cambay to be sureties for the surrender of his wife, he prevailed on her brothers to return to Agra, and then, by some scheme not explained, escaped with her, met with an escort, and arrived safely at the ships on January 26, 1612. Thus ended the ill-considered mission on which Hawkins, the master of a merchantman, was sent by the factors of the East India Company at Surat to Jehangir, the most liberal and perhaps the proudest of the Moghul Emperors of India.

After the lapse of three centuries, during which the name of the man and his mission have fallen into oblivion, the reasons for the failure of Hawkins become obvious. He visited the Court of Jehangir as the servant of a company of merchants, suppliants for the favour of the Great Moghul, the proudest and the most magnificent of the potentates of Asia; but although he was supplied with a

letter from the factors at Surat and the King of England, he bore with him no costly offerings, was accompanied by no retinue or appearance of regality. He was not even attended by a physician, who might have been able to ingratiate himself with Jehangir and to obtain the favour of his courtiers. The use that might be made of a well-appointed Medical Service had not then dawned upon the servants of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East.

Subsequent to the departure of Hawkins in 1612, the factors at Surat continued to visit the Moghul Court with messages of supplication, which all ended in disappointment. At last the directors of the Company in England, having received frequent information from intelligent persons who had been at Agra concerning the state and manners of the Moghul's Court, became convinced of the expediency of sending a formal embassy from the King, to be executed by a person of more distinction than any who at this time had joined their mercantile service.

Accordingly, Sir Thomas Roe, an English statesman of importance, was appointed, "but as if the Royal Commission required not the accompaniments of splendour, frugality prescribed his allowances, his retinue, and even the present to the Moghul, with little conformity to the sumptuous prejudices of the most magnificent Court in the universe."\* Sir Thomas embarked in one of four ships which left the land on March 6, 1615.

His journal makes no mention of any retinue, but he seems not to have been altogether unattended, for on his landing at Socotra he had with him a Mr. Boughton,† probably the chirurgeon of his ship, who appears to have been a person of some importance, as he "had leave to see the King's house." He "found it such as would serve an ordinary gentleman in England," while the lower rooms

\* Orme.

† Terry, chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, speaks of "our Surgeon," but does not give his name.

served for warehouses and wardrobe. Mr. Boughton was not allowed to see the King's wives, which were there, nor the ordinary women, but he had for his dinner "three hens with rice, and for drink water and *Cahu*, a black liquor, drank as hot as can be endured."\*

The Sultan of Socotra came to the shore with 300 men, having set up a tent near the bay. He was on horseback, as were two of his chief servants, and another on a camel, the people running before and behind him shouting, and two guards, one of his subjects, and the other of twelve hired Guzaratis, some with Turkish bows, some with pistols, some with muskets, but all with good swords. He had also a few kettledrums and one trumpet.

"He received the General in a courteous Manner, and was so absolute, that no man could sell any Thing but himself."† On the whole, therefore, Sir Thomas was more graciously received at Socotra than he was afterwards at Surat, where he arrived on September 26, and received in an open tent by the chief officers of the town, well attended. But, he says, there was "much controversy about searching my servants; but at length they passed free to the city, where we went into a house provided for us, and there continued till the 30th of October, suffering much from the Governor, who by force searched many chests and took out what he thought fit." The Governor of Surat was at this time "*Zulfacar Caun*," the favourite of Sultan Khurram, the third son of Jehangir, who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan.

Zul Fikar Khan, vexed at the detriments which the State and revenues of his Government had sustained from the Portuguese, imputed the cause to the English, and detested them accordingly. There can be no doubt that he threw all possible obstacles in the way of Sir Thomas Roe's mission, pretending to see no difference between his position and that of those who had been employed as the Company's

\* Journal of Sir Thomas Roe.

† *Sic in origine*, Sir Thomas Roe's Journal.

servants at Agra (Hawkins, Canning, Kerridge and Edwards),\* who had all assumed the title of Ambassador from the King of England. But he did not dare to stop altogether his progress towards Agra, where Jehangir held his Court.

Sir Thomas therefore proceeded to *Brampore* (or *Boor-haunpoor*), which he guessed to be 223 miles east from Surat. Here he was met by the *Cutwall* (Kotwal), "an officer of the King's so called, well attended with 16 colours carried before him," who conducted him to the seraglio, where he was appointed to lodge, making his excuse that this was the best lodging in the town.

Thence he was carried by the *Cutwall* to visit the Prince (Sultan Khurram), in whose outward Court he found about a hundred gentlemen on horseback, waiting to salute him on his coming out.

He sat in a high gallery that went round, with a canopy over him, and a carpet before him. "An officer told me as I approached, that I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place right under him, railed in with an Ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence and he bowed his body, so I went within where were all the Great Men of the town with their hands before them like slaves. The place was covered with a rich canopy, and under foot all with carpet. It was like a great stage, and the Prince sat at the upper end of it. Having no place assigned I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps, or to allow me a chair."

"Then," says Sir Thomas, in a letter to the Company, "I delivered his Majesty's letter, with a Copy of it in Persian, shewed my Commission, and delivered your presents."

"These consisted of a Coach, a pair of Virginalls, some knives, an embroidered scarf, and a rich sword of my own." But Jehangir had lately received from an Ambassador sent

\* Orme.

by the King of Vizapore, "thirty-six elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten Gold, two of silver, the rest of brass, and four rich furnished Horses with Jewels to the Value of ten Lacks of Rupees." It is not, therefore, very surprising to hear that, after the English had left the Durbar, Jehangir asked a Jesuit who was present whether the King of England was a great King, that sent presents of so small value. And that he looked for some jewels. "Having my presents, he offered to go into another room where I should be allowed to sit, but by the way he made himself drunk out of a case of bottles I gave him, and so the visit ended."

On another occasion, being the King's birthday, Sir Thomas attended a Durbar, at which Jehangir, covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls, was weighed in scales of beaten gold against gold and precious stones, but these being packed up, Sir Thomas saw them not.

After this solemnity the King spent all night in drinking with his nobles. In such symposia Sir Thomas often had to join, but on this occasion he desired to be excused, because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors were "so hot they will burn a man's very Bowels."\* Sir Thomas was then very ill of a flux, and durst not venture such a debauch. He must at this time have sorely felt the absence of a medical officer, for on one occasion he was carried sick from Brampore towards Ajmere, to which place the Moghul had moved from Agra. In his Journal he also declares that in his travels, following the Moghul's Court, he endured "all the inconveniences men are subject to under an ill Government and in an intemperate Climate." He did not arrive at Agra till December 23, and his sickness delayed his first audience with Jehangir until January 10, when he was received by the Moghul with more than the usual courtesy awarded foreign Ambassadors to the East.

Sir Thomas delivered his demands in writing to the Emperor at the daily public audience. They were dis-

\* Journal of Sir T. Roe.



persed into nineteen articles which comprehended every necessary provision for the safety and success of the Company's trade in the Moghul's dominions, and guarded against the repetition of such injuries and indignities as he himself had seen or suffered at Surat. But these articles, by which freedom of trade was granted to the English, promised no advantage to the Portuguese. Sultan Khurram therefore, aided by his father-in-law, Asaf Jah, not only continued his opposition, but even treated Sir Thomas more than once with ill manners in the presence of the Emperor.

The Portuguese also continued to send armed ships and fleets to the Gulf of Cambay, and to threaten the ships which had brought Roe's expedition and were anchored at Swally. The promises made at first by Jehangir were in consequence never fulfilled, and on September 2, 1616, his birthday, Sir Thomas told Asaf Jah that, having now waited seven months without effect, he should on the morrow request the Emperor to declare the causes of the delay, and what he really meant to grant.

To this Asaf Jah objected, and Sultan Khurram suggested that it would be better if Sir Thomas relied upon him in the businesses of his own government instead of crossing him by requests to the Emperor, in which case he would be found a better friend than Sir Thomas expected. In the meantime four more ships had been despatched from England. In the Gulf of Madagascar the *Charles*, a ship of 1,000 tons, commanded by Captain Joseph, was attacked by a Portuguese carrack, a vessel of exceeding great bulk and burden, carrying 700 men and commanded by Admiral Don Manual de Meneses.\*

In the fight that ensued Joseph was killed ; his second in command, Captain Powell, had an eye struck out and received wounds in the jaw and leg ; and the master and five seamen were dangerously wounded. But the mate took up the command, and, assisted by the other two ships, drove the carrack ashore on the island of Angazija, which was not

\* Orme.

far off. A boat was sent from the *Charles* with a flag of truce. This was received with courtesy, but the gallant Meneses refused to surrender, and declared he would get to sea on the morrow and renew the fight, when, if taken, he expected the treatment of a gentleman. But in the night a storm arose in which the carrack drove and was jammed between two rocks. In this situation her crew set her on fire and escaped to the shore, where they were attacked by the natives, who stripped them of their clothes, "setting so much value on everything which might serve for their own, that they threw away the dollars in order to put their heads into the empty bags."

"The brave but unfortunate Meneses, the pilot and a few more, are said to have escaped in the carrack's boat and to have met two junks belonging to a Muhammadan, who collected the rest of the shipwrecked crew, gathered their treasure, secured their jewels, and sent them away in his own vessels to the Portuguese port of Mombaze."

Here the valour and misfortunes of Meneses were properly rewarded. He was received by the Viceroy, Azavedo, and the city, with the highest veneration. He was sent back to Lisbon in an advice boat, and arrived safe to receive the same acknowledgments in his own country.

"And indeed his defeat merited a trophy of victory, for his force bore no proportion to the English ships, of which, nevertheless, either of the strongest would probably have sustained an equal conflict against the same superiority, for at this time the highest spirit of military honour animated all the officers and seamen of the Company's marine."

Is not this suggestive that there must have been in Sir Thomas Roe's time an efficient Medical Service attached to the Company's marine? The high courage and daring of the fighting men could not have been maintained had there been no surgeons to attend to them when wounded.

Having received news of this action, Sir Thomas Roe, on October 14, sent for a Portuguese Jesuit residing at the Court, and gave him an account of it, offering a peace upon

equal terms, with which he promised to acquaint the Viceroy of Goa. He then visited the Prince, and asked for a place and harbour to fortify, and said we would defend his ships against the Portuguese; this was repelled with scorn. In the evening he waited on the King with the account of the arrival of the ships, and the King asked what presents they had brought for him, "which," says Sir Thomas, "I could not give him an account of." Jehangir was much disappointed, but pleased to hear that the mastiff dogs which he expected had escaped the fight, of which he spoke with praise, but was much vexed that the great horse which was promised had not arrived, and offered Sir Thomas a lakh of rupees if he would procure him one.

Sir Thomas seems not to have thought much of this naval victory. He says in his Journal: "There came out six ships from England, but they lost company of one in bad weather, and another was sent to Bantam. By the way, they had fought a Portuguese Galleon bound for Goa, which burnt itself." This was not saying much, but out of that victory came more advantage to the East India Company than Sir Thomas was able to gain in his two years' residence at the Court of the Moghul, for it broke the power of Portugal upon the Indian seas, and gave free passage for the English ships to Surat. The ships carried into India not merchandise only. They carried men skilled in the art and science of medicine.

It must not, of course, be imagined that all of these were highly qualified in their profession. No doubt most of them were of the old barber-surgeon type, but the best were probably graduates of European Universities, which at the time were sending out the men who laid the foundations of medical education in England, and supplied enlightened physicians to all known parts of the world.

The first ships sent out by the East India Company were certainly not altogether unprovided with medical attendance.

In the year 1600 the Company's fleet consisted of four

ships—the *Scourge*, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and the *Susanne*—and to each ship there were appointed “Surgeons twoe and a Barber.”\*

On December 11 in the same year an order is given to Alderman Hollyday to pay to Ralph Salter, surgeon, entertained for this voyage, “the some of thirty and two pounds sterling, being allowed unto him by composition for the furnishing of his chest with all kinds of necessaries and remedies belonging to a chirurgeon, to be used in this viage ; upon payment of this money he is to take acquittance.”

A similar order is given to Mr. Alderman Baninge to make payments for similar purposes of “twenty-five pounds sterlinge, and twenty pounds sterlinge to James Lovringe, surgeon of the *Hector*, Christopher Newchurch, surgeon of the *Ascension*, and to John Gammond, surgeon of the *Susanne*.”

These medical arrangements do not seem to have been very successful. The *Ascension* returned from the East Indies in June, 1603, and letters were received by the Court from Edward Highlord, “pursere,” and Roger Style Cape, merchant of the same ship, both discoursing the state of the voyage, the parts which had been visited for trade, and how “many of the men are dead in the voyage.”

From these discourses the General Assembly conceived good hope that the voyage “may fall out such as may minister encouragement to set out another voyage for the further discovery of the parts of the East Indies,” but no mention is made of the surgeons, who may have possibly been among those “dead in the voyage.” There were many sick and weak men on board who were desirous to leave the ship when she arrived at Plymouth.

No more information as to the existence of a Medical Service on board the Company's ships can be gathered from the old records at the India Office till the year 1642, when the right to establish a factory at Balasor

\* “Court Records of the East India Company,” Sir G. Birdwood. London, 1886.

(Baleshwar, or the strength of God) was granted to the Company, and in 1645-46, in return, as the story goes, for medical services rendered to the Great Moghul (Shah Jehan, 1627-58) and to his Viceroy, the Nawab of Bengal, Sultan Shuja (1639-60), by Surgeon Gabriel Boughton, of the Company's ship *Hopewell*, as already related.

Passing on to the year 1709, we find recorded the names of seven ships of the East India Company sailing to Bengal, viz.: (1) The *Frederick*, 350 tons, 70 men, 28 guns; (2) the *Loyall Bliss*; (3) the *Halifax*; (4) the *St. George*, 450 tons; (5) the *Susanne*, 330 tons; (6) the *King William*, 400 tons; (7) the *Sherbourne*, 250 tons.

The names of the medical officers, or doctors, as they were at the time styled, were: (1) Robert Tonge; (2) William Penycote; (3) Oliver Colt; (4) Thomas Stewart; (5) Hugh Campbell; (6) Oliver Mow; (7) William Hamilton.

It is unnecessary to say more about the first six of these gentlemen, but William Hamilton, of the ship *Sherbourne*, must be noticed, as, of all the Company's servants at this time (1712), it is his name alone that is preserved in the history of British India as the great benefactor of the English in Bengal.\*

The *Sherbourne* was a frigate of only 250 tons, carrying 22 guns. Her company consisted of 52 officers and seamen and 19 soldiers. Her captain received £10 a month; her first mate, £6; Hamilton, the surgeon, £3 10s.; and Archibald Liston, his mate, £2. Leaving England in February, 1710, the *Sherbourne* arrived at Bencoolen in August, and left on the 7th of that month bound for the East Coast of India, her crew having been brought to the verge of mutiny by the harsh treatment of their captain, who caned or whipped them for the slightest faults.

The *Sherbourne* was unlucky. Sailing along the coast of Ceylon on September 1, 1710, in fine weather, with all sail set, she struck on a spit of sand to the north of Trinco-

\* C. R. Wilson, "Early Annals of the English in Bengal."

mallee, eighty miles from Port Pedro. Failing to get her off, Cornwall left the ship, landed at Port Pedro, and made his way to Jaffnapatam to seek assistance.

The Dutch Governor received him kindly, and sent him back with as many sloops as could be spared. On his return not a man of his crew would return to duty till he had received his discharge. With the assistance of the Dutch the ship was got off, brought to anchor at Port Pedro, and ultimately passed on to Calcutta, where all except Hamilton were tried for mutiny. Hamilton had remained throughout steadfast to his duty; he did not desert his post with the faithless crew, but went with the ship from Port Pedro to Madras and from Madras to Calcutta.

There he obtained leave from the authorities to return to Madras, and made his escape from the *Sherbourne* in a country boat without taking leave of his captain. Cornwall reported the desertion in a very angry letter, and Hamilton was ordered to return to his ship, but this he never did. In the ledger of the ship *Sherbourne* the account of William Hamilton, chirurgien, is closed with the word "run," and his act of desertion might have cost him his life, but on December 27, 1711, he was appointed second surgeon at Calcutta. His subsequent actions brought lasting benefit to his nation, but he never again saw his native country. In the annals of the Indian Medical Service the name of William Hamilton must stand ever next to that of Gabriel Boughton. The *Sherbourne*, with Cornwall in command, was captured and taken into Pondicherry by a French man-of-war in 1712.

The Diary of the United Trade Council at Fort William in Bengal, under date December 27, 1711-12, records that—"We being in great want of another Surgeon for to tend all the Company's Servants and Soldiers of this Garrison, and William Hamilton being out of employ, Agreed that he be Entertained upon the same Allowance and Privileges as William James our present Surgeon."

The Bengal Medical Service at this date consisted of two officers, a number obviously insufficient to attend all the Company's servants in the bay, consisting of : President and councillors, 9 ; senior merchants, 2 ; junior merchants, 3 ; factors, 6 ; writers, 31 ; and residing not only in Calcutta, but at Cossim Bazar (now Murshidabad), Patna, and Bala-sore, where factories were established. Of the two medical officers above named, it appears that Dr. James went to England in 1712, and that Richard Harvey, who came to Calcutta as surgeon in the ship *Recovery* in the same year, was appointed in his place.

Harvey had attended the Governor the Worshipful Robert Hedges, Esq. (during an indisposition which required him to go up to Nuddea for change of air), and was in consequence taken into the service, "he being a good physician, and one doctor not being sufficient for this place in the sickly season."

William Hamilton was known to be a man of great and unmistakable ability, with an insight into character which gained him influence over his fellow-men.\* These qualities soon brought him the notice of the Governor, and caused him to be, like Boughton, employed as a medico-diplomatist.

The death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed by a contest for the succession, which ended in the elevation of his eldest son, Shah 'Alam, to the Moghul throne. Shah 'Alam died in 1712, and the usual confusion about succession followed. It devolved finally on the feeble Prince Farrukh-siyar, a grandson of Shah 'Alam, who was disposed to favour the English traders. Consequently on January 4, 1714, there were rejoicings in Calcutta. The troops of the garrison fired a feu-de-joie, and the Company's servants drank the health of Queen Anne and of the King Farrukh-siyar with fifty-one guns to each health. A bonfire was made, the soldiers were given a tub of punch "to chear their harts," and it was

\* C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*

determined to send an embassy with a present to the Moghul's Court. On the day following the embassy was appointed.

It was to consist of Mr. John Surman, Mr. John Pratt, factors, and Mr. Edward Stephenson, writer, but as it was considered necessary that "one of our surgeons go up with the *Gentlemen*\* who go with the present, it was agreed that Dr. Hamilton should be sent." Two members of the Council objected to the three gentlemen as being of insufficient importance; the *Doctor*, of course, was out of consideration. But the majority of the Council and the Governor, Robert Hedges, doubtless knew why all other embassies to the Moghul Court had failed. Dr. William Hamilton, therefore, was sent with the present, and the embassy was, after many days, successful.†

Many preliminaries had to be settled. Mr. Pratt declined to proceed to the Moghul's Court because he scorned to go inferior to Mr. John Surman or *Cojah Surhand*, and wrote several letters to his friends "manifesting his pride and ambition, joined with such a temper as may occasion quarrels, and hazard the ruin of our affairs at the King's Durbar." Part of the present consisting of clocks, a clockmaker had to be appointed to take care of

\* This must have been somewhat galling to a cadet of the noble family of the Hamiltons of Dalzell, which traced its origin to Gavin, third son of James, Lord Hamilton in the fifteenth century.

† It is evident that at this time the Company's surgeons were considered to be socially inferior to the factors. On March 4, 1706, the Council at Calcutta received a letter from Mr. Arthur King, "a factor in the Company's service, who considered himself insulted because the surgeon's wife has taken her place in the church above his wife." He asks the Council to order that his wife shall be placed above the surgeon's wife in the future." This letter was opened by the chairman, Mr. Russell, who persuaded King to withdraw it, that the matter might be settled privately.

"King now writes again to say that the surgeon's wife continues 'to squat herself down' in his wife's place, and that, if they would not see to it, he would let them know that they, as well as he, 'had masters in England,' and that they must hold themselves responsible for any disturbance or unseemly conduct that may arise in church in consequence" (C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*).



them and repair what damage may happen to them in the way. One James Gaywood was entertained for the purpose at Rs. 30 per month, and an advance of Rs. 150 allowed him "to provide him his necessaries."

"*Cojah Surhand*," an Armenian merchant appointed to be second on the embassy, had to be settled with, and he required the modest sum of Rs. 50,000.\* Lastly, Mr. Edward Stevenson and Dr. Hamilton had to be provided with clothes, etc., to the extent of Rs. 350 and Rs. 300 each, to enable them to proceed to the Moghul's Court with the present.

In April, 1714, after three months' discussion, the boats with the present started for Patna, whence a year later the whole embassy proceeded by road to Delhi, where they arrived on July 8, 1715, after a journey of three months. The embassy and costly present of the Company, however, were doomed to imperial neglect had not an accident over which they had no control, and the virtue of a public-spirited man who preferred their interest to his own, opened an avenue to the grace of Farrukh-siyar.

Farrukh-siyar was at the time engaged to be married to the daughter of the Rajah Ajit Singh of Jodpore, but was labouring under an indisposition considered by his Indian physicians to be rather inconvenient at the time of his marriage. Under their treatment the disorder lingered, and Farrukh-siyar, becoming impatient, was advised to make trial of the skill of the medical gentleman accompanying the embassy. Cure was the speedy consequence. That Farrukh-siyar was satisfied with the result there can be no doubt.

On January 12, 1715-16, the Council at Fort William received a "Packett from Messrs. Surman and Stephenson at Delly," dated December 7, advising the welcome news of the King's recovery, as a clear demonstration of which he, according to the Eastern manner, "washed himselfe the

\* C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*

23rd, and received the Congratulations of the whole Court on the 30th Dec."

"He was pleased to reward Mr. Hamilton for his care and success in a public manner, presenting him with a Veste, a *Culgee* sett with precious Stones, two Rings, an Elephant, Horse, and five thousand Rupees, and ordered severall Additions to be gott for him."

"*Cojah Surhaud* received at the same time an elephant and Vest as a reward for his attendance. They delivered to his Majesty the remaining part of their Present reserving only a small part till the ceremony of his Majesties marriage should be over. The General Petition they had delivered to *Cawn Daurar* in order to have it presented to his Majesty."

Such a fee for the performance of a minor surgical operation may perhaps be regarded as excessive, but it should be remembered that Hamilton, like Boughton, "asked for nothing for himself," and that during his whole attendance his life was in danger. The friends of Farrukhsiyar doubted Hamilton's motive; his enemies dreaded his success.

#### THE END OF HAMILTON'S MISSION.

News having reached Delhi that the English at Surat had removed to Bombay in order to escape the oppression of the Nawab of Surat, the Court at Delhi was alarmed lest they should again make war on the Moghul's ships. Every demand was granted; a firman was made out and signed. The following extract described the farewell audience: "Delhi, 7th June, 1717. The 23rd ultimo, John Surman received from his Majesty a horse and *cunger*, as was pre-appointed: and the 30th ultimo we were sent for by *Khan Dauran* to receive our despatches, which we had accordingly; a *serpaw* and *culgee* being given to John Surman, and *serpaws* to *Serhaud* and John Stephenson, as likewise to the rest of our companions. We were ordered to pass, one by one, to our obeisance; then to move from

the Dewan. We did so. But when it came to Mr. Hamilton's turn, he was told that the King had granted him a vest as a mark of his favour, but not for his despatch. So he was ordered up to his standing again."

"Whilst he was performing this, the King got up. We were highly surprised at this unexpected motion, not having the least notice of it till that minute, either from our patron or any of authority ; it being near a twelve month since Mr. Hamilton had been in private with his Majesty, and in all this time not the least notice taken. We were very much concerned at his detainment, and the more because we were assured of his firm aversion to accepting the service, even with all the charms of vast pay, honour, etc. : that if the King did detain him by force, if he outlived the trouble of his esteeming imprisonment, he might be endeavouring an escape, which every way had its ill consequences."

"To free our Honourable Masters from any damages that might accrue to them from the passionate temper of the King, our patron *Khan Dauran* was applied to for leave, twice or thrice ; but he positively denied to speak or even have a hand in this business, till our friend *Sayyid Sallibut Khan* had an opportunity to lay the case before him, when he ordered us to speak to the Vizier, and, if by any means we could gain him to intercede, that he would back it."

"We made a visit to the Vizier the 6th instant, and laid the case to him in a petition from Mr. Hamilton, of how little service he could be without any physic, language, or experience in the country medicines, or their names ; besides which the heart-breaking distractions of being parted for ever from his wife and children would be insupportable, and entirely take away his qualifications for the King's Service ; that under the favour of His Majesty's clemency, with the utmost submission, he desired he might have leave to depart with us. From ourselves we informed the Vizier that we should have esteemed this

a great honour, but finding the Doctor under these troubles not to be persuaded, we were obliged to lay the case before His Majesty, and we humbly desired he would use his intercessions to the King, that His Majesty might be prevailed upon to despatch him. The good Vizier readily promised to use his utmost endeavours, and since the case was so, the business was to gain the Doctor's dispatch without displeasing the King; and he ordered a petition to be drawn up to His Majesty in the same form as that given to himself."

"It was sent him, and the Vizier was as good as his word, writing a very pathetic address to His Majesty, enforcing Mr. Hamilton's reasons and backing them with his own opinions, that it was better to let him go. The King returned an answer which came out the 6th as follows: 'Since he is privy to my disease, and perfectly understands his business, I would very fain have kept him, and given him whatsoever he should have asked. But seeing he cannot be brought on any terms to be content, I agree to it; and on condition that after he has gone to Europe and procured such medicines as are not to be got here and seen his wife and children, he return to visit the Court once more, let him go.' We hope in God the troublesome business is now blown over."

Surman received permission to leave Delhi on July 18, 1717, and reached Agra greatly fatigued by a journey of two months' duration. *Khojah Surhaud*, who from the first was suspected of playing tricks, still remained at Delhi, so they "sent him a protest from *Barapola* and *Ferrabad* wherein they let him know his expenses from that time are on his own account, to which he returned a retorting answer that he expected the contrary." Hamilton was told by his mercantile masters that if he did not stay after Mr. Surman he would be dismissed.

Hamilton obtained his leave from Farrukh-siyar by means of a legal fiction—he had neither wife nor children. He had come to India to earn money enough to enable him to

go home and marry the girl of his heart. He died soon after his return to Bengal. The news of his death was sent to Delhi, but Farrukh-siyar would not believe it until he sent an officer of rank to make inquiries at Calcutta, where the tombstone of Hamilton was, and is perhaps still, to be seen. It bears an English epitaph, together with a Persian inscription, which has been thus translated :

"William Hamilton, Physician in the service of the English Company, who had accompanied the English ambassadors to the enlightened presence, and having made his own name famous in the four quarters of the earth by the cure of the Emperor, the Asylum of the World, Mohammad Farrukh-siyar the Victorious, and with a thousand difficulties having obtained permission from the Court, which is the Refuge of the Universe, to return to his country, by the Divine decree on the 4th of December, 1717, died in Calcutta, and is buried here."\*

Within two or three years after the departure of Hamilton from Delhi, Farrukh-siyar, deposed and cruelly blinded, was murdered in the dungeon into which he had been thrown by his brothers. His remains were buried in the famous tomb of Humāyun.

In the Diary and Consultation Book of the Council of Fort William in Bengal, under date 1717, the last will and testament of William Hamilton stands recorded. After bequeathing the bulk of his estate to his father, brothers and sisters, he gave Rs. 1,000 to the Church of Bengal ; £500 to his cousin, Mistress Anna Hamilton, and he nominated and appointed as his trustee Mr. John Surman, giving to him the large diamond ring and *culgee* received from King Farrukh-siyar.

The will was signed and sealed at "Surugegurra, on board the boates going for Bengall, in presence of John Cockburn and John Sturt, the testator being perfectly in his senses but not in perfect health of body."

Subsequently to the departure of William Hamilton with the present to Farrukh-siyar, the Honourable Company's medical establishment remained for some time in the hands of two surgeons, not assisted even by a barber.

\* C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*

In a list of the Honourable Company's servants in the Bay of Bengal, "According to their Precedences and Stations," dated Calcutta, 1714-15, the name and dignities of these gentlemen are thus recorded :

Names.	Dignities.	Arrival in India.	Salary per annum.	Present Salary.
Surgeons.				
Richard Harvey* ...	Doctor	1 January, 1712	£ 36	£ 36
Oliver Coult ...	Doctor	7 September, 1713	36	36

The inability of so small a staff to cope with its duties very soon became evident. Both doctors were often absent on duty. French and Dutch medical officers had to be engaged, and their services paid for. Every year, as the Company's trade developed, and the number of the Company's servants, civil and military, increased, the difficulty of finding medical attendance for them became more pressing.

In 1707 the authorities in Calcutta were induced to attend to the needs of the soldiers and sailors, who every year fell sick and died in large numbers, owing to the cruel manner in which they were neglected by the factors. After frequent misrepresentations had been made by the doctors, the Council agreed, on October 16, that a convenient spot, close to the burial-ground, should be pitched on as the site for a hospital, and contributed Rs. 2,000 towards the building expenses. The rest of the money was raised by public subscription. Of this institution Hamilton has expressed a somewhat modified approbation. "The Company," he says, "has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of physic, but few come out again to give an account of its operation."<sup>†</sup>

\* Harvey was formerly surgeon of the ship *Recovery*, and was retained in place of W. James, surgeon of the ship *Bouverie*, who had gone to England.

† This was the opinion of Alexander Hamilton, a merchant and author, who went out to the East Indies in 1688, and remained there till 1723. His adventures and experiences are told in a most interesting manner in

In 1710, in order to put a stop to the unwholesome practice of allowing the soldiers to lodge in the town, the hospital was walled round and barracks erected for them to live in under the supervision of their officers. Under these circumstances the Honourable Company was bound to add to its number of medical officers, but these were not to be easily obtained.

The surgeons of the Company's ships were always available, and there were doubtless medical adventurers bent upon increasing scanty professional incomes by trading gains. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Company succeeded in obtaining in course of time a sufficiency of good medical officers, some of whom attained to eminence, not only in medicine, but in other departments of the service.

J. Z. Holwell, the historian *par excellence* of the Black Hole, the man of unflinching perseverance in duty, who in 1757 maintained the defence of Fort William for two days, after its desertion by the chief civil and military authorities (who survived the Black Hole), began his career in India as a medical officer. The life-history of Holwell has been told by Surgeon-Major Busteed, of the Bombay Medical Service, in his "Echoes of Old Calcutta."

Holwell was the son of a London merchant, and the grandson of John Holwell, well known as a learned mathematician and astronomer, who wrote towards the end of the seventeenth century.

J. Z. Holwell was born in Dublin in 1711; at an early age he was sent to a school at Richmond in Surrey, where he greatly distinguished himself in classics. His father

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his "Account of the East Indies," published in 1727, which has been declared to offer a closer parallel to the History of Herodotus than perhaps any other work in modern literature. His book, which is dedicated to the Duke of Hamilton, must, however, be weighted with his distinct confession that his observations were drawn "mostly from the storehouse of his memory." Moreover, as a private merchant, or "interloper," he was probably prejudiced against the Company and everything connected with it (C. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*).

having determined to bring him up to mercantile pursuits, he was removed to an academy in Holland, where he acquired a knowledge of French, Dutch, and book-keeping. He was next settled as a clerk in the counting-house of a banker and "husband of ships" at Rotterdam by a friend of his father, who agreed to take him into partnership after a stipulated time; but his health breaking down under hard work, he went for a trip to Ireland, and returned from that country with a fixed aversion to the life of a merchant.

The profession of medicine was next adopted for him by his father, who had him articled to a surgeon in Southwark, on whose death he was placed under the care and instruction of the senior surgeon of Guy's Hospital. On his quitting the hospital he was engaged as surgeon's mate on board an Indiaman, which arrived in Calcutta in 1732. From Bengal he made two or three voyages in the Company's ships as surgeon, and twice went in charge of the "Patna party," about 400 fighting men, which annually left Calcutta with the Company's trade for the Patna factory.

On these occasions he bore the rank of Surgeon-Major. After having served for a short time as surgeon to the factory at Dakka, he returned to Calcutta at the end of 1736, when he was elected an Alderman in the Mayor's Court. In or about 1740 he was appointed assistant-surgeon to the hospital, and, having been brought on the fixed medical establishment under orders from home, he soon became Principal Surgeon to the Presidency. He tells us himself that for two years successively he was Mayor.

In 1748 ill-health obliged him to return to England. During the voyage he drew up a plan he had formed for correcting abuses in the Zamindar's Court at Calcutta, and proposed it to the Court of Directors, who, adopting it, appointed him perpetual Zamindar (a post carrying with it fiscal and magisterial duties) and twelfth in Council.

On his arrival in Calcutta as a covenanted civilian in 1751, he began his system of reform, which eventually gave such satisfaction at home that his annual salary was raised



from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 6,000 ; and a prohibition against his rising in Council, which was at first stipulated, was removed.

By the time that the war broke out he had risen to the position of seventh in Council. On his release from Murshidabad he made his way to the ships at Fulta, where disease was making havoc amongst the refugees who were waiting there for the expedition from Madras. In one of his letters from there to the Court of Directors, he mentions being deputed to take possession of "*Bullramgurry*," somewhere near Ballasore, apparently, and to have "nominated it your Presidency, it being the only one of your possessions remaining to you on these parts."

Being shattered in health, he was sent home with despatches in February, 1758, in the *Syren*, a sloop of only 80 tons, and had a perilous voyage of six months, during which he wrote his narrative of the Black Hole. In consideration of his distinguished and meritorious services, he was nominated by a large majority in the Court of Directors to return to Bengal as successor to Clive, but this he seems to have modestly declined in favour of Mr. Manningham ; he was then named second in Council. But a fresh election of Directors having occurred before he started, the above arrangements were reversed by a majority of the new-comers who were not friendly to him, and he was relegated to his old position of seventh in Council. However, on his arrival in Calcutta he found himself fourth, owing to the departure of seniors, and in 1759 he became second.

By virtue of this position he succeeded Clive as Governor, on the latter proceeding to Europe in February, 1760. He held the governorship for two months only. The Court of Directors of those days was broken up into factions ; Holwell did not pull well with them, nor did Clive, and acrimonious letters passed between the Bengal and Home Governments.

In consequence of this dispute Holwell asked for permis-

sion to resign the service. The permission was given, and concern expressed at the loss of so valuable a colleague.

Holwell died at Pinner, Middlesex, on November 5, 1798. For the last twelve years of his life he was in very straitened circumstances, and was reduced to applying to the generous friendship of Mr. Weston, who subsequently became notable as the benefactor of all classes in Calcutta.

Charles Weston had served his time as surgeon's apprentice to Holwell, and had once accompanied him to Europe. On Holwell's getting into the Civil Service, Weston also changed his pursuits. "What could I expect," said he, "from following the medical profession, when I saw a regular-bred surgeon and so clever a man as Mr. Holwell charge no more than Rs. 50 for three months' attendance and medicine?"

Weston served as a militiaman at the siege of Calcutta, and escaped by having been sent on the river to look after his patron's baggage boats the day before the fort was taken. He took refuge in Chinsurah. He was often heard to say that Suraj-ed-Doulah's forbearance to Holwell and the latter's release from fetters were due to the intercession of the Nawab's wives, instigated by the natives of Calcutta, who loved him well.

When Holwell left India he gave Weston Rs. 2,000, and lent him Rs. 5,000 more. With this capital Weston made a large fortune, chiefly by safe agency business, and became well known for his charities during his lifetime. The profits he made by the Tiretta Bazaar he applied to his own use. The rest of his fortune was invested in Government securities, and the whole interest of this he monthly distributed to the poor of all nations, classes, and religions, without distinction. The lakh of rupees which he left to the poor at his death was the smallest of his charities. He died in 1810, aged seventy-eight, and was buried in South Park Street Cemetery.\*

Passing on to the year 1763, the English in India are

\* Busteed, *op. cit.*

found again at issue with the native rulers of the country on the subject of trade. In that year the English army attacked Monghyr, and the loss of this place threw the Nawab Meer Cossim into a paroxysm of rage, during which he ordered all his prisoners to be massacred.

Then occurred a tragedy at Patna as terrible as that of the Black Hole. Suffice it to say that fifty-one Englishmen were slaughtered in cold blood at Patna, together with a hundred others of inferior rank. A surgeon named Fullerton, who in the exercise of his profession had gained a place in the affection of Meer Cossim, was the only individual spared. Fullerton was, on his own petition, sent from Monghyr to Patna to attend on the prisoners, and would doubtless have shared their fate had he not been separately imprisoned to guard him from the ruthless cruelty of the renegade European who executed the horrid command of the Nawab. Four other medical officers, Head-Surgeons Crooke and Hamond and Surgeons Campbell and Anderson, were among the victims of the Patna massacre.

After the massacre, which took place on October 5, 1763, Fullerton applied for liberty to stay at the Dutch factory, which was granted. A week afterwards, on the approach of an English army, the Nawab Cossim decamped with his troops in great confusion, and marched five coss to the westward of the city, leaving Fullerton to his fate, which no doubt would have been speedily sealed had he not possessed money enough to bribe the Jemadar, who had the guard to the westward of the Dutch factory by the river-side.

Then he says in his Journal: "I set out in a small boat and got safe into the boats under command of Captain Wedderburn that were lying opposite to the city on the other side of the river, and at eleven o'clock that night arrived at the army under the command of Major Adams, laying at Jutly."

Fullerton appears to have been a private practitioner.\*

\* It seems that he was originally in the service, but left it early in 1764.

His name is not to be found in the List of Medical Officers of the Indian Army from 1764 to 1838, compiled and edited by Dodwell and Miles in 1839, a work, of course, long out of print, but still to be found in the library of the India Office.

One of the earliest names mentioned in this list is that of F. Hamilton Buchanan, M.D., who took his degree in Edinburgh in 1783, and was shortly afterwards appointed surgeon of a man-of-war, but was compelled by ill-health to relinquish his appointment. In 1794 he entered the East India Company's service as a surgeon in the Bengal establishment. Shortly after reaching India he accompanied a mission to the Court of Ava, and devoted himself to botanical researches in Ava, Pegu, and the Andaman Isles.

On the return of the mission, being stationed at Lakkipur, near the mouth of the Brahmaputra, he wrote an admirable description of the fishes of that river, which was published in 1822.

In 1800 he was deputed by Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General of India, to travel through and report upon the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar. He investigated the state of agriculture, arts and commerce; the religion, manners and customs; the history, both natural and civil; and the antiquities in the dominion of the Raja of Mysore and the countries acquired by the Honourable East India Company, in the late and former wars from Tippu Sultan.

This report, which is very voluminous, and cast in the form of a journal, was published in England in 1807 by order of the Court of Directors, in three quarto volumes. A second edition in two octavo volumes was published at Madras in 1870. Buchanan's tour in Southern India was followed by a visit to Nepal, in company with another traveller in 1802, which resulted in his writing a history of Nepal and making large additions to his botanical collections. On his return he was appointed surgeon to the

Governor-General, and accompanied Lord Wellesley on his voyage to England in 1806.

Shortly afterwards he was deputed to make a statistical survey of the Presidency of Bengal, an enormous work, on which he was employed for seven years. The result of this survey, which was forwarded to the East India House in 1816, does not appear to have been published, if we except a geographical and statistical description of Dinajpur, published at Calcutta after his death. In 1814 Buchanan was appointed Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, but returned to England in the following year. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He died on June 15, 1829, in his sixty-seventh year.

Later on, in the same list, we find the name of James Burnes (К.Н.), M.D., Physician-General of Bombay, and a kinsman of the poet Burns. He was born at Montrose, where his father, James Burnes, was Provost, on February 12, 1801, and, after being trained for the medical profession at Edinburgh, Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, arrived at Bombay, in company with his brother Alexander, in 1821.

He filled various minor posts in the Indian Medical Service, and was successful in the open competition for the office of surgeon to the Residency of Cutch. He accompanied as a volunteer the field force which, in 1825, expelled the Sindians who had devastated Cutch and forced the British brigade to retire upon Bhuj. The Amirs of Sind then invited him to visit them as the most skilful of physicians, and their best friend, and cementer of the bonds of amity between the two Governments. On his return he was complimented by the Government on the zeal and ability he had displayed at Cutch and Hyderabad.

His narrative of his visit to Sind, sent in as an official report to the Resident at Cutch, is still the best account we possess of the country, and a valuable contribution to the geography of India. It was republished in book form with the title "Narrative of a Visit to Sind" in 1830. In 1834

Burnes, during a visit to England on sick-leave, was made LL.D. of Glasgow University, and F.R.S., and received the knighthood of the Guelphic Order from William IV.

On his return to India in 1837, he was at once appointed Garrison-Surgeon of Bombay, and afterwards Secretary of the Medical Board, Superintending Surgeon, Surgeon-General, and finally Physician-General. He was also a member of the Board of Education, and took an acute interest in the diffusion of medical training among the natives. Impaired health compelled him to resign in 1849, after twenty-eight years' service, and his departure was commemorated by the foundation of four medals to be competed for at the Grant Medical School, Bombay, the Montrose Academy, and the boys' and girls' schools at Byculla. Burnes was a zealous Freemason, and held the office of Grand Master for Western India, in which capacity he opened a lodge for natives at Bombay in 1844.

Besides his "Narrative," he wrote "A Sketch of the History of Cutch" (lithographed for private circulation, 1829) and a short history of the Knights Templar.

On his return home he occupied himself with the affairs of his country, where he became a Justice of the Peace. He died in London, September 19, 1862.

Francis Buchanan and James Burnes must be regarded as the first medical officers of the Honourable East India Company (after Dr. John Fryer, previously mentioned), who attained to eminence not only in medicine, but as scientific observers, travellers and diplomatists. They were doubtless specially selected by the directors of the Honourable East India Company in England.

It seems probable that up to the year 1795 there were no fixed regulations for the recruitment of medical officers in India. An Examining Board certainly seems to have existed about this time, but there is no record of the manner in which it carried out its duties. Probably it was rigid enough when first constituted; possibly it sometimes rejected worthy applicants, and was at last driven by necessity

to pass men but ill-fitted for the position to which they aspired.

In 1758 in England, Oliver Goldsmith, who had studied medicine in Edinburgh and practised as a physician in Southwark—though perhaps to little purpose—applied for an appointment as physician and surgeon to a factory on the coast of Coromandel. The appointment was obtained for him through a director of the East India Company. He would have had a salary of £100 a year, and the practice was said to be worth £1,000. His last book was to pay for his passage, but, sad to say, he was, on December 23, 1758, examined at Surgeons' Hall, and found not qualified for a certificate as surgeon's mate.

About this time, or perhaps later, an instance is recorded of a person who had been a butcher on board an East Indiaman, passing the Board. This person was so ignorant as to sign himself "Sergeant" instead of "Surgeon"!

It was not till 1795 that the Board decided that its medical officers should be armed with diplomas, although on October 20, 1763, an order had been issued which regulated the formation of the Bengal Medical Service, or, as it was then called, "the establishment of surgeons employed under this Presidency."

From January 1, 1764, the total strength of this service was fixed at forty. Of these the four seniors were to reside at Calcutta, and to be entitled head-surgeons—"the two first to have the hospital contract." The next eight were called surgeons. The first four of these were to be stationed at Patna, Cossimbazar (Murshidabad), Chittagong, and Dacca; the four juniors to be surgeons to the army, and all to succeed in rotation to be head-surgeons at Calcutta.

The remaining twenty-eight were entitled surgeon's mates. Of these "the eight eldest upon the list were to live in Calcutta, the next eight to be surgeon's mates to the army, and the other twelve to be surgeon's mates of the Sepoys, one to each battalion."

The head-surgeon and surgeons were paid 10s. a day,

with Captain's batta on field service ; the surgeon's mates at Calcutta 7s. 6d. per day, each with Lieutenant's batta when in the field.

The order winds up with the words, "Agreed that we write to the Court of Directors to send us out some surgeon's mates to complete this establishment."

The "hospital contract"\* above named was the permission granted to the favoured medical officers to supply and charge for all medicines and instruments, hospital necessities and diet, doolies, and other means of transport. Under this system, combined with the paucity of medical officers, many contracts sometimes fell to the lot of one individual, who received for each contract full allowances.

"In Lord Lake's camp," to quote from a medical journal published in Calcutta early in the nineteenth century, "such were the enormous receipts in consequence of contracts for supplying regiments with medicine, diet, and doolies, that some medical officers were said to have realized the largest fortunes ever made in the country.

"The intelligence of these brilliant fortunes reached Great Britain. Gentlemen of the first families soon sent their sons to study medicine, and the Indian service became filled with accomplished and able men ; indeed, such were their literary acquirements that many were employed in the Political Department, while the press and houses of agency were principally conducted by them."

There can be no doubt that this power of making money (probably not a little exaggerated) drew into the service many men fully willing to enrich themselves by trade.

It appears from Dodwell and Miles's list that in the last decades of the eighteenth century the admissions of assistant-surgeons rose from units to tens. In 1783, 1796, and 1799 respectively, there were admitted in Bengal 58, in Madras 16, and in Bombay 26. From the small beginning

\* The contract system ceased in 1815, much to the benefit of the service and every officer belonging to it.



in 1764 the Indian Medical Service has increased in numbers and repute, till it has become one of the most honourable and honoured services in the Empire.

It is noticeable that in the year 1783 the strength of the service rose from 40, at which it was first fixed, to about 150. The twenty years which saw this increase were coincident with the spread of the English government over the kingdom of Mysore in Southern India, and over the whole of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in the North, which necessitated a large increase in the establishment of every service, military and civil.

After the great recruitment in 1783, there was, of course, a lull, but appointments continued to be made up to 1856, when the number admitted had attained its maximum. In the sad year of 1857 the service was greatly reduced by death and retirements, and its usefulness was curtailed by the many disbandments of the old Sepoy regiments which then took place. A constant supply of medical officers with British regiments poured into the country, and the Indian Medical Service became in a great measure superfluous. In 1860, therefore, it was temporarily closed, and for five years remained unrecruited. But by 1865 it had become evident that a Medical Service composed of men highly educated both professionally and generally was for India an absolute necessity.

The re-opening of the services in 1865 was followed in 1880 by an order which caused some trepidation in the minds of newly-joined officers.

Under orders received from the Secretary of State, the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council was pleased to direct that from March 31 the British Army Medical Department and the Indian Medical Department should form one for the medical administration of the army in the three Presidencies. At the same time the number of administrative medical appointments was reduced.

This order was at the time regarded by some as a death-stroke to the Indian Medical Service. It was really a

blessing in disguise. It was soon followed by orders which made the Surgeons-General of the Departments each independent of the other. It accelerated promotions which had long been stagnant. It provided increased pensions for all medical officers, from the youngest to the most ancient, who had reached the age of compulsory retirement.

Since 1880 the Indian Medical Service has been completely reorganized, and in many respects improved. Study of its past history reveals how closely it has been associated with the foundation of the British Empire in India; how great has been its influence in supporting and developing it, in harmonizing differences, and in reconciling to British rule the multitude of races and tribes which constitute the people of India. It tells how much has been done by Indian medical officers to increase our knowledge of Indian products and the development of industries arising out of them; how it has originated and developed great departments of the public service.

Indian medical officers have been largely concerned in bringing to perfection the Postal and Telegraph systems, the Forest Department, the management of Gaols, the system of State Sanitation, and have held medical charge—executive and administrative—of the Military and Civil stations of India. They have helped to introduce the study of English literature and science into the scheme of native education in India.

They originated the system of medical education which is now carried on in the Presidency towns and numerous other centres. By means of Indian medical officers a system of medical education has been established, and has resulted in the formation of a class of well-educated native medical practitioners and subordinate warrant medical officers, who administer the hospitals and dispensaries provided everywhere by a benevolent Government for the relief of the sick and suffering.

A hundred and fifty years have passed away since the Indian Medical Service consisted of a few imperfectly-

educated medical adventurers, who for a long time were ill-remunerated and held in scant esteem by their fellow-workers in India.

Times have changed, and the Service now holds the proud position gained for it by men of the last century who have joined the great majority. Grievances, real and imaginary, under which the Service formerly laboured have been greatly redressed.

Substantive military rank has been granted. Medical officers exercise military command in their own department, are no longer subject to the command of their military juniors, and need no longer be addressed by an academic title which some of them never possessed and did not aspire to. Pay of rank has been materially increased, so that none need now enter upon trading speculations to insure a sufficient income, while all are allowed to improve their pecuniary position by the private practice of their profession.

The Indian is now the best-paid and the best-pensioned Medical Service in the Empire. Entrance to its ranks is guarded by the necessity of passing a special examination, and all its advantages are thereby secured for men who are willing to devote to it the best part of their lives. It seems likely that still further improvements, in accordance with the importance and responsibility of their duties, may be anticipated.

It seems hardly fitting that this brief history, tracing the evolution of the Indian Medical Service from its earliest beginnings, should be closed without allusion to those who during the last century did so much to raise its prestige, and to advance the material welfare of India generally. The range of their knowledge has been wide, embracing not only medicine and surgery, but language, literature, and science, of which the practical outcome is seen in the part taken by medical officers in the foundation and development of great Departments of State, such as the Post-Office, Electric Telegraphy, Forestry, Education, etc.

Only a few of the principal of these can be mentioned: Horace Hayman Wilson, Aloys Sprenger, and Bellew, as representing Oriental Languages; Falconer and MacLelland, Geology and Paleontology; O'Shaughnessy and Macnamara, Electricity and Chemistry; Russell and Jerdon, Natural History; Paton, Post-Office; Chevers, Medical Jurisprudence; Cleghorn, Thompson, Wallich, Anderson, and King, Botany; Brett, Morehead, Twining, Waring, the Goodeves, Ranald Martin, Maclean, Nicholson, Fayrer, Partridge, Birdwood, Macpherson, Mouat, Webb, Alexander Grant, Hare, Forsyth, Eatwell, and many others, Medicine, Medical Education, and Surgery.

These, of whom many have passed away, helped to build up a Service now second to none in prestige, and certainly containing in itself the potentiality of further development and success.

## THE INDIAN LAND REVENUE.

By "RUSTICUS."

To the intelligent student of history there is nothing very mysterious about the Land Revenue of India, sometimes—by a false analogy—spoken of as "the land-tax." It is a survival of that system of ransom which universally attends on conquest. From the eleventh to the eighteenth of the Christian centuries, India was ruled by Moslem conquerors, and it is a principle of Islam that the land belongs to the conquering State, unless it be held by Moslems, when it becomes liable to tithe (see texts from the "Hidāya," quoted in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam"; *in voc.* "Land"). Idolaters may also be put to death, but it was usually found more convenient to leave them in cultivating occupancy of the soil, subject to demands on the produce to which there was no legal limit. The lives of the idolatrous agriculturists were spared on condition of their holding at a rack-rent, and the principle took root and was adopted by conquerors who were not followers of Islam. The British administration took the place of these lords of misrule, but was never a system of mere conquest. In lieu of maintaining or enhancing the exactions of their predecessors, the British have remitted a large share of the demand.

The late Sir William Hunter, who never allowed pedantic accuracy to impede the production of effect, was wont to write of the "land-tax" as an item of Indian finance. The analogy was misleading, and has supplied the critics of the British administration with more than one weapon of attack. Adding the total derived from that source to the yield of taxation proper, they have sought to show that a crushing load has been imposed upon a people whose resources are hardly equal to the humblest needs of life. The subject is one both of importance and interest. If the critics were right, the Government must be one of the

worst—like that of the early Emperor, who said that his object was to leave his Hindu subjects no more than what would keep them alive. But it is the very reverse of truth, for the portion of rent which the British administrators of India divide with the zemindars is enough to pay nearly half of the net outlay on State purposes, and to that extent the tax-payer escapes. It is as if Cornishmen were excused from paying income-tax because the Prince of Wales derived an equivalent sum from lands and mines in the Duchy.\*

But there is an even more weighty fact, to which attention is not always paid. The share of the rent appropriated to the relief of the tax-payer has been larger than under all previous Governments, while the value of money has diminished, more has been laid out upon profitable and benevolent objects, and far less has run to waste on middlemen and corrupt officials. The reforming Emperor Akbar took a third of the gross produce; it is estimated the receipts of the present Government may amount to a tenth.† Under the more vigorous of his successors the estimated total rose to more than thirty millions of modern money, besides a leakage of the kind mentioned above, which a contemporary reckoned at much more. At that time the unskilled labourer got about two rupees a month, while the pay of a foot-soldier was little more than double; prices of commodities were in proportion. The system of rack-renting lasted into modern times. The Begum Somroo attempted to take the entire net yield of the land from the agriculturists of her fief at Sardhana; and the first thing that the Board of Revenue did, when it fell in at her death in 1836, was to reduce the demand by 20 per cent. At that time the maximum rating of British administration was 75 per cent. It has now been reduced to 50 per cent. If the would-be

\* Excluding opium and receipts from investments and public works, the net income may be taken, roundly, at Rx. 53,000,000. Of these, Rx. 24,000,000 are derived from the land revenue.

† This is nothing but a conjecture or ideal. The Government does not profess to appraise the gross produce, but merely to obtain a half-share of the rent for the public service.

reformers could succeed in obtaining a farther reduction, they would have to point out some source whence the deficit could be made good, and the burdens of the unrepresented people would be perilously increased.\*

The question whether the present connection of India with the Empire is an advantage would be one of complexity and magnitude. The people of the Eastern country have received peace and commercial prosperity, population has increased, secondary wants and manufacturing interests have been introduced, with new standards of morals and civilization. On the other hand, the revenue of the United Kingdom has been replenished and a field laid open for the employment of white labour in various fields, while many valiant soldiers have been made available for the defence of the Empire.

Against these things there is a certain amount of drawback. The increase of population in British India does not favour the survival of the fittest; a dense crowd of weaklings is poured upon the land; plague, pestilence, and famine are becoming chronic, and appear as Nature's protest against the introduction of new cloth into an old garment. On the British side is to be set the political and military perils which impend on a position that has had no precedent since the decline of the Roman Empire. Like the Romans of that time we have to defend a great and growing frontier. It might be argued that the interests of both countries point to a gradual retirement from the administration of India, conditionally on the retention of a few treaty-ports and the assurance that other Powers would not take possession of the vacated Hinterland in a spirit of hostility and plunder. The case of China is suggestive. Should the Russians and the French ever effect a partition of that vast empire, it

\* It is on record that before the annexation of the Panjab in 1849 it was the practice of the Sikh Government of that province to exact half the *gross produce* from the landholders. These now pay half the *net produce*, and thus have obtained from the British conquest an addition to their incomes of about 40 per cent. (Ranjit Singh, "Rulers of India," p. 145).

may well be doubted whether British commerce would be long allowed to retain its rights and privileges at Shanghai, Hong-Kong, or even Wei-hai-wei.

If these things be so, it follows that, for the present, the connection ought to be maintained, and for its maintenance the goodwill of the people is an essential factor. Now, the bulk of the Indian people is agricultural, and is, with one exception, untaxed. That exception is not the so-called land-tax. The land has been inherited or purchased by its present holders under a rental of which a part was ear-marked for the use of the State. Those who hold free of such payment—known in India as Inamdars or Mafidars—are no better off than their revenue-paying neighbours, the value of whose estates has indeed been enhanced by the modern Government. The only tax that is paid by the agriculturist, who abstains from luxuries, is a poll-tax, levied in the form of an excise, on the salt that he eats; and the incidence has been worked out at about six annas—say sevenpence a head per annum. When we remember that for this modest contribution they get protection for their industry, roads for the transport of their produce, and education for their children, we cannot fairly call the payment unreasonable. The rest of the taxation falls on those who use litigation, stamped paper, ardent spirits, etc., or have assessable incomes. This minority—about 20 per cent. of the whole population—also pays municipal rates, if—as is usual—they live in towns; but the rural community pay no more than the salt-tax already mentioned. A duty on tobacco has been sometimes mentioned; but it has never been adopted, probably from a conviction that it would alienate the allegiance of the agriculturists, on whose goodwill rest the sure foundations of the Indian Empire.

N.B.—The “municipal rates” levied in towns are imposed by representative councils, and spent on local purposes. Those who desire a full statement of the subject will find it in the Resolution of the Government of India, referred to in *The Voice of India* of August 9, in the following plain language: “Though the immediate object was to dispose of the misrepresentations of Mr. R. C. Dutt, the document is of permanent interest.”



## THE PRESENT POSITION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA.

BY ALFRED NUNDY, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

IF any apology were needed for my writing on the above subject, I would ascribe it to the intense interest taken in the present state of Christian missions in India. For a nation which is often charged with an intense greed for land, for fresh markets, and for an open door, and for making all things subservient to its desire for gain, it is certainly curious that it pours out every year hundreds of thousands of pounds in a cause the burden of which it has voluntarily undertaken, and which is to many a source of great anxiety and of sad concern. These disinterested efforts of England to promote the principles of the Gospel constitute for it a crown of glory the brightness of which will never fade. The recent addresses of Bishop Welldon, and before him of the Bishop of Bombay, have of late aroused a keen interest in the subject of missions, and this suggested to me the idea that, though the subject is not new, it may perhaps possess some novelty in being dealt with by an Indian Christian, who, just having finished a two years' tour through the whole of India, has had peculiar facilities for ascertaining the views thereon of the missionaries, of the members of his own community, and of non-Christians.

The late Lord Lawrence, than whom there could be no authority higher and more reliable, is credited with having said that, "notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit India, the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined." And Sir William Muir says: "Coming to the direct results of Christian missions in India, I say that they are not to be despised. Thousands have been brought over, and in increasing ratio converts are being brought over, to Christianity. And they are not shams, nor paper converts, as some would have us believe, but good

and honest Christians, and many of them of a high standard." Nevertheless, it is an undoubted fact that, if the opinions of the Anglo-Indians and of their journals be taken, the majority would pronounce a verdict unfavourable to mission work, and even as regards the missionaries themselves. A few months ago an official, who had retired after holding a responsible position in the educational service, contributed an article to an English magazine, and, after indulging in a good many disparaging remarks as regards the average missionary, arrived at the result that only the lower classes become Christians, and that from interested motives, whilst their character and conduct are a standing reproach to Christianity.

Not long ago, when the famous declaration of Bishop Welldon, that he had stipulated for a free hand as regards missions before accepting the appointment of Metropolitan of India, had aroused a keen controversy relating to evangelistic work, a correspondent to the *Pioneer*, who, from the tenor of his remarks, was not an unfriendly critic, wrote of the average Christian as a man "who is nothing better than a loafer or a beggar, and often perilously near to being a swindler." Even the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have made the method of mission work in India the subject of a scathing criticism. The late Metropolitan, speaking at Trichinopoly, animadverted in strong terms on the "subordination by missions of Christian teaching to secular objects," and asserted that "the education imparted in the missionary colleges in different parts of India should be one in which Christian education should occupy not only a prominent but indeed a dominant position." The Bishop of Madras deplored "the present state of things in our mission schools as anything but satisfactory, or as in any degree a solution of the great problem that lies before Indian educationalists," and contrasted it with sorrow with the days of Dr. Duff, "when the whole system of education in his celebrated college was permeated through and through with religion." The Bishop of Bombay, sick at heart at the

apathy displayed by the missionaries in the active and aggressive preaching of Christianity, reproached them for their want of zeal, and added : " Most of these evangelists confined their attention to administrative work or European congregations, for whom they were not sent or paid, and this state of matters was not grasped by their Home Committees." But, on the other hand, we have the evidence of earnest and God-fearing men who have visited India to supervise mission work, and to obtain an insight into the multifarious operations that are being carried on, and have pronounced in their favour as an unqualified success. And do not the mission reports and the speeches made at missionary meetings bear witness to the fact that, whilst the work of evangelization is progressing by leaps and bounds, and the converts are leading, on the whole, exemplary lives, earnest efforts are being made for their consolidation on a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending basis? Now, here we have the most contradictory views held by persons as regards none of whom can it be said that they have expressed opinions they do not honestly believe in, and as we shall see further on, from his own point of view, each has more or less foundation for the position he has taken up.

Any effort to estimate how far mission work has been successful in India is met with the difficulty as to the test to be applied to decide the question. If the increase in the number of professing Christians is accepted as evidence that is final, then the work of evangelization has indeed been a conspicuous success. In the year 1851 the number of Protestant converts was 91,092 ; in 1891 it rose to 559,661 ; and the census of 1901 shows an increase of 30 per cent. during the previous ten years. But this increase is due to causes other than the activity of mission workers. Though, as a community, the Christians are poor, yet they are not so poor as some members of other communities, who eke out a miserable existence, and have their lives considerably shortened ; they have the advantage of being looked after

by the missionaries; they have greater facilities for obtaining medical aid; their mode of living, and even the localities they live in, are more favourable for the preservation of life, so that it is an undoubted fact that the rate of mortality in their case is lower as compared with other communities. Then, again, the frequent famines which sweep away millions of people not only leave the Indian Christians untouched, but rather become agencies by which large accessions are made to the Christian fold. Taking as an instance the last famine, which raged in Central India and Guzerat, it is said that no less than 30,000 orphans and women were taken charge of by the missionaries. But the most fruitful source which helps to multiply the number of professing Christians is afforded by the depressed classes. These are made up of outcasts and the so-called aboriginal races. Writing of them, the late Sir W. Hunter says: "At this moment there are fifty millions of human beings in India, sitting abject on the outskirts of Hinduism, or beyond its pale, who within the next fifty years will incorporate themselves into one or the other of the higher faiths. Speaking humanly, it rests with Christian missionaries in India whether a great proportion of these fifty millions shall accept Christianity, or Hinduism, or Islam." As a matter of fact, large bodies of these from time to time are being drafted into the Christian fold, whilst others seek the shelter of the Hindu and Muhammadan faiths. Eliminating the accessions to Christianity from these sources, it is to be feared that Hindu and Muhammadan conversions contribute but a small share to missionary statistics, whilst the baptism of anyone from the educated classes, or of the superior castes, is so rare an event in these days that there is no reason to be surprised that the Anglo-Indian knows nothing of it. These are facts which can be verified by anyone who cares to go through the Report for 1900 of the Church Missionary Society, which I have selected as the most influential and prosperous as regards funds and workers, and also that, whilst other societies confine their

work more or less to the depressed classes, the labours of this Society are distributed amongst all classes.

How is this absence of conversion from the higher and educated classes to be accounted for, especially when we contrast it with the abundant results which were forthcoming in the early days of Christianity? It must be borne in mind that, except in the Madras Presidency, the first-fruits were gathered from the mission schools and colleges, but now the times have changed, and with them the teacher and the education he imparted, the scholar and his surrounding circumstances. Dr. Duff was the pioneer of education in Bengal, of whom the people said when he landed in Calcutta after being shipwrecked twice, and having suffered great hardships, "Surely this man is a favourite of the gods, who must have some notable work for him to do in India." It was his magnetic influence and large-hearted sympathy that attracted a body of young men to receive education in the English language. Previous to 1830 instruction to youths was given in the Oriental languages, but when Dr. Duff let in a flood of European knowledge through the English language, and with it imparted a moral and religious teaching of a high order, keeping the evidences of Christianity in the forefront, much that was absurd and false in Oriental philosophy, science, and religion, was exposed. The result of this is graphically described by Dr. George Smith in page 136 of his interesting volume on "The Conversion of India," and I give this extract to show the capabilities of mission colleges and schools if properly utilized, and as an argument against their abolition, as suggested by some.

"What Henry Martyn had pronounced to be so difficult as to amount to a miracle, what, long after Bishop Caldwell, a missionary worthy of Carey and Duff, lamented as non-existent outside Christian colleges, Christendom saw, and thanked God for the sight—Brahmin after Brahmin putting on the yoke of Christ by baptism, and, in return, becoming, like Paul, the ordained preachers of the faith they had

once persecuted or condemned, and that in Anglican and American as well as Scottish Presbyterian Churches. The native historian of the Church of India, while he records the fact of the first five of his countrymen baptized by Ziegenbalg on May 12, 1807—"five adult heathen slaves of Danish masters"—and the names of Sathianadhan, first ordained minister in 1799, and of Krishna Pal, the carpenter, whom, in 1800, Carey led down into the waters of the Ganges, will not forget the Koolin Brahmin, the Rev. Professor Krishna Mohan Bannerjee, afterwards LL.D. of the Calcutta University, and the Rev. Gopi Nath Nundy, who witnessed a good confession before the Muhammadan rebels of Allahabad in the darkest time of the Mutiny of 1857. Mr. Sherring records that of the forty-eight educated converts of Duff's Mission (living) in 1871, nine were ministers, ten catechists, seventeen professors and higher grade teachers, eight were Government servants of the higher grade, and four were assistant surgeons and doctors."

But what do we find now? The missionary in charge of the school or college puts in an appearance for an hour or two, and, having taken the Scripture lesson of some of the classes, his duties are over. He is not in touch with his pupils, and therefore unable to exercise any personal influence on them, or gain their esteem and affection, or acquire any regard for them. The education that is imparted, says the late Bishop of Calcutta, "subordinates Christian teaching to secular objects"; or, as Dr. Pentecost puts it, "the end of missionary education seems to be more an English education up to the standard required by Government as a condition of the grant-in-aid than to make Christians of students." But the missionary is really in a fix; if he made religious instruction the chief aim he would be left without any pupils, who attend a school or college because of its efficiency in imparting secular education, which they measure according to the number of passes obtained at the University examinations. If instruction in the Christian religion is also imparted, they

look upon it as an evil that must be put up with, and they mechanically go through the Bible readings, and listen with a steeled heart, if not with a deaf ear, to the explanations or exhortations of their teacher. Why need they do otherwise, for are they not placed differently from the pupils of old? To these, if convicted of sin and longing to be saved, no compromise was possible; they had either to become Christians or continue as before. Thus it was that a large number of men embraced Christianity notwithstanding the persecution and the sacrifices they had to undergo. But the educated Hindu now finds he can sit at home and do whatever a Christian does, except eat openly with persons below his caste or intermarry with them. Does he wish to read the Bible, or is he at heart a Christian, his relatives and friends are not the least troubled about it, so long as he does not go and get baptized. Has he a preference for theism, he can indulge it to his heart's content, and even become an atheist if he likes. Has he a taste for forbidden food, he can gratify it by keeping a double establishment at home, or by going to an obliging friend, or to a quiet room at an hotel. No need, then, thinks he, for him to become an outcast, and leave his home and relations to become a Christian.

Nor is the work of evangelization outside mission schools and colleges productive of better results. The English education that is being imparted has the effect of destroying the faith of a Hindu in his religion without substituting anything in its place. The educated classes show a tendency towards agnosticism, combined with an easy-going, self-indulgent form of living, or have adopted a more enlightened monotheism, with a higher ethical standard, and a reformed condition of society. It is difficult to influence such persons, for once a pupil leaves a mission school or college he is entirely out of touch with the missionaries, who, it may be, are otherwise engaged, or indifferent or diffident of their ability to reason with him. Here and there we come across a missionary who is on

friendly terms with non-Christians, but almost invariably this has been preceded on his part by active sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the people. The Bishop of Bombay, in his address at St. Paul's Cathedral, drew prominent attention to the fact that the whole trend of Hindu thought and action is concentrated in their desire to secure a new and vigorous nationality, and anyone who has sympathy with them in this respect can touch their hearts. We have a most conspicuous instance of this in the case of Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee, described by Dr. George Smith in his "Conversion of India" as "the ablest and most eloquent of all the Brahmin converts of the Free Church of Scotland." A lawyer by profession, a profound scholar, a member of the University Syndicate, an ex-member of the Bengal Council—to which he was elected by the votes of Hindus and Muhammadans to represent the University of Calcutta—his name is a household word amongst the educated classes of the whole of India. A popular speaker on the Indian National Congress platform, his speeches there have never been known to exceed twenty minutes, but during his stay of four or five days in the city where the Congress may have met, hardly an evening has passed but that he has poured forth before crowded audiences a torrent of eloquence in support of Christianity. Why do people who usually ignore missionaries, never mind how eloquent they are, flock to hear him, though he speaks on a subject which is not agreeable to them? It is simply to render a tribute of respect and admiration to one whom they know is in sympathy with their political aspirations. But the English missionaries are imbued, more or less, with the prejudices of Anglo-Indians, and often approach the people they wish to convert in the pride and arrogance of conquerors, with a thinly-veiled contempt for a subject race. The result is they necessarily come in for some of the estrangement which is daily increasing between the rulers and the ruled, and is due to a large extent to race feeling.



But there is yet another reason why the missionary finds himself at a discount. The Indian mind, by a long-continued usage, has come to associate a life of self-denial and asceticism with the great teachers and preachers. All the great Hindu reformers, commencing from Buddha, were men who had renounced the world and accepted a life of poverty and privation. To the adoption of these principles can be attributed the great success in India of the Jesuits, who identified themselves with the people in all secular matters such as food, dress, and mode of living. Of De Nobili, who went about in the garb of a mendicant and eventually died in a mud hut, it is said he was loved and venerated as if he was a Hindu saint. The simple and unassuming life led by Dr. Duff is still a cherished memory in Calcutta. Carey, from the two appointments he held under Government, drew Rs. 1,250 a month, but retained only Rs. 50 for his private expenses. Marshman earned by his boarding-schools Rs. 800 a month, but kept only Rs. 30 for himself and his family. Ward earned as much or more by means of his press, but he contented himself with Rs. 20 a month. The rest of the money went in each case to the support of missions. The tendency of the Oriental mind to depreciate what does not come up to its own ideal is further encouraged by the criticism to which missionaries are subjected by the Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, who are naturally credited with having the best opportunities for forming a correct opinion of their religious teachers, and if they attribute to them worldliness, pride, and want of piety, the harm done is a serious bar to the progress of Christianity.

But by far the greatest hindrance to the conversion of the better classes is the moral and spiritual condition of the Indian Christians, which, as regards some at least, is not as satisfactory as it need be. As to those drawn from the lower classes, a good many are Christians only in name—indeed, some of them after baptism continue the practice of their former rites and ceremonies. They surreptitiously

take part in their former festivals, and are very loath to give up old and forbidden customs on occasions of birth, marriage, or death; they continue to wear charms as a protection from evil spirits: women delight in wearing the *Sindhur* mark on their foreheads, and indulge in a variety of superstitions, whilst girls are married at an early age. In Southern India caste is rigidly kept by a large number of Christians who are not Brahmins. As may be expected, there are frequent lapses amongst such converts. The Church Missionary Society's Report for 1900 furnishes several such instances, but I was somewhat startled to read, in the course of a thoughtful and candid review in the *Indian Witness*, the organ of the American Episcopal Methodists, the following remarks with reference to that Society's operations in 1900: "The total number of Christians at the close of 1900 was 111,932, a net gain of 1,434 only for the past year. This should awaken some thoughtful concern. The baptisms of the year have been 10,628, and only 3,351 deaths are reported. What has become of some 6,000 souls?" What, indeed, except that they have gone back to their old ways, and should never have been baptized. But much can be said in extenuation of these converts. With a few notable exceptions, they become Christians not from conviction but from self-interest. It is a peculiar feature as regards this class that a request on their part to become converts is frequently antecedent to any religious teaching they may have received. Thus, in the Church Missionary Society's Report for 1900 we find that in the Agra district the missionaries received a call from thirteen families to send them a teacher, which was complied with. Sometimes it is some trouble in which they are involved and as regards which they wish to obtain outside support that prompts them to take the initiative, or it may arise from a general feeling that it will materially benefit them to be under the care and protection of missionaries. There is a considerable stir at present amongst the Shanars of South India at having been

declared by the civil courts as outside the pale of Hinduism, and therefore not entitled to go inside the temples. Before long we shall see thousands of them either becoming Christians or embracing the Muhammadan faith. It must, however, be said to the credit of these converts that, having regard to the comparatively short period within which they have come under the operation of evangelistic work, and the fact that the instruction they receive is meagre and the supervision exercised over them inadequate, there is much, indeed, that is deserving of commendation about them. We find numerous examples of men and women who, in spite of their depressing environment, and in spite of hereditary tendencies, have been uplifted by the power of Christianity, and are exercising a most beneficial influence on those amongst whom they live and work. Missionaries of all denominations bear testimony to this fact, but, above all, they are hopeful that the next generation will show still better results.

But besides the converts from the depressed classes, we have a large body of Christians who, though proportionately small in number, yet, by reason of their position and influence, are more in evidence with the outside world. They are descended partly from those converts of the higher classes who in the early days of Christianity embraced that religion, and partly from those originally in a lower sphere of life; yet their children, thanks to the education placed at their disposal, especially by mission schools, have risen in life and are occupying fairly good positions. Thus, in the upper grade of our community we have men who hold more or less responsible positions under Government, or on the railways, or are barristers, pleaders, medical practitioners, traders, and, above all, we have thousands who are in mission service as pastors, teachers, and catechists. We have the highest possible evidence that a fair proportion of them are leading the most exemplary lives, and of whom it can be said that Christianity has had a transforming influence on their character and conduct.

But taking this class as a whole, it will have to be admitted as a deplorable fact that the result is disappointing. And here, again, we come across persons who are victims of a combination of unfavourable circumstances. If their standard of morality is low, it has to be borne in mind that the restraints to which they would have been subjected, had they not been Christians, have been removed, and the community which they now form is composed of loose and scattered units, which have no cohesion at present, whilst their imitation of Western habits has not tended to elevate them, but to lead them into intemperance and extravagance. If their religious duties are performed in a perfunctory manner, and the tone of spirituality prevailing amongst them is low, they have been but faithful followers of the Europeans and Eurasians, many of whom seldom attend a church or chapel, but reserve the Sunday for recreation and amusement. If they are selfish and grasping, and offer themselves for mission work at the highest market value, they have learnt that in England princely incomes are enjoyed by those who minister to the souls of others ; and when they find here chaplains and missionaries enjoying a comfortable and, in some cases, a luxurious life, they see no reason why they should not make the best possible terms for themselves. But, as a rule, they are averse to taking up mission work, and only do so when other sources of employment fail them. It is a common subject of complaint with missionaries that they cannot get suitable workers, whilst I have heard as many Indian Christians complain that they cannot get suitable missionaries to work under. In very many cases the relations between the two are anything but cordial, and there is an estrangement growing up which bodes ill for the welfare of the Indian Church.

I have no desire to acquit the Indian Christian of his share of the blame, for he is often too selfish and grasping, and whilst I would give every credit for the good work done by some missionaries, or the life of self-denial led by others, I believe that they are to a great extent responsible

for the present low moral and spiritual condition of the converts, and for their estranged feelings towards them. They are always very eager to obtain fresh converts, but do not bestow on the existing Christians that attention and supervision that is indispensable if they are to be a credit to the religion they profess. These are like a flock without a shepherd, and if they stray away it is the concern of no one to bring them back to the fold. Besides, such are the evils of sectarianism that it is often a difficult task for a shepherd to recognise his sheep, or for the latter to feel satisfied that it is a fold that he ought to enter. But at every mission station there are Indian Christians in mission service, who, with their families and a few outsiders, constitute a fairly good congregation, but even over these the influence of the missionary is not very pronounced. Very often the two, except on Sundays, never come into contact with each other, which—it may be wrongly—gives ground for the belief that the missionaries despise the Christians. I know of men coming straight out of Islington to an Indian station, and calling on the European officials and some Eurasians and entirely ignoring the Indian Christians, some of whom were not inferior to them in point of birth, education, or position; and yet these are the people amongst whom he is supposed to work. Then, as regards the treatment accorded to pastors and other mission agents, there seem to be a good many complaints and a good deal of discontent, in so far that the matter was not long ago discussed by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, when many hard words were exchanged by either side. It is a curious fact that there is a comparative absence of these complaints against the American missionaries, of the Episcopal Methodist Church. The large number of native pastors who serve with them admit the generosity and magnanimity which accord to them equal treatment, whilst the other Christians as readily acknowledge their indebtedness for little acts of kindness, which indicate the terms on which they stand with their foreign pastors,

who, as far as practicable, take a lively personal interest in their spiritual and material affairs. And, on the other hand, the missionaries speak of their Indian agents in terms of the highest commendation, and recognise in them men who have consecrated their lives to the cause of Christ. Whilst the English missionaries are crying for workers and complaining of their unsuitability, the American Methodists are overflowing with thanksgiving that, though their funds are insufficient, and the number of men and women they require is large, and though necessity compels them to utilize those who were once ignorant, yet God has been pleased to supply them with workers who merit their confidence. The reason is that they try to raise and to train such men, and give them their heartfelt sympathy, whilst the English missionaries are not particularly keen about the matter, partly, it is said, from the fear that it might injure their prestige.

It will perhaps be thought that I have drawn a most gloomy and depressing picture of the work of evangelization in India; but we have no reason to be despondent, but may look forward to a glorious future for the spread of Christianity in India, though I am unable to accept the optimistic views of Bishop Welldon that Christianity is within a measurable distance of great conquests in this country. The conquests will come, no doubt, but perhaps not before there has been a considerable trial of the faith and patience of those who are looking forward to a speedy fruition of this desirable end. Already most rapid strides have been made in a quarter which, though considered by some of not much account, yet only repeats past history, when the poor of this world were found to be rich in faith, whilst the learned and the exalted were groping in darkness. And though the conversions from the educated classes are but rare these days, yet Christianity is entitled to be considered the greatest of blessings, inasmuch as it has had on them an elevating influence, morally and socially.

And who can tell how long the present scepticism and indifference of the intellectual classes will be prolonged? Already there are signs of an awakening, and I feel confident the day will come when a revival as notable as any in the history of Christianity will induce the people to make an open declaration of belief in a faith which many have already accepted in their hearts, though they refuse to give utterance to this fact with their lips.

With this end in view the number of capable and earnest workers in the mission-field should be increased, and those who have to deal with the educated classes should be men of superior intelligence and culture, for the average missionary is not exactly suited for this task, and often makes no effort in this direction. But in common with many others I entertain the belief that if India is ever to be a Christian nation, it will be due to the efforts of its own sons. The greater the necessity, therefore, that missionaries should give more of their time and attention to their converts, a good deal of which at present they devote to the service of Europeans and Eurasians; for it ought not to be lost sight of that unless the Indian Christians are able as a community to show something of the grace, the power, and the sanctity of Christian life, they will be the greatest obstructionists in the progress of Christianity. It is, therefore, the duty of missionaries, if they are really desirous of helping the Christians, to mix more freely with them, to take an interest in their inner life, and by the exercise of personal influence and personal example to stimulate them, to set up for themselves a higher ideal for their character and conduct than they do at present. And I would beseech the English public not to be so eager for immediate results, for it often places the missionary in a false position in trying to secure converts unworthy the name of Christ, many of whom, indeed, either lapse into their old ways, or, at all events, set an example which, if anything, is a stumbling-block and a matter of reproach to those around them, or it tempts him sometimes to send

garbled reports, or to draw on his imagination when addressing missionary meetings at home. The Loodhiana Mission, in the Punjab, in its sixty-sixth annual report, which is just published, after hesitating whether in a mission report "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" should be told, has decided in telling the "whole truth," and furnishes facts which will startle all but those who have a real acquaintance with mission work, and who know that other bodies, if they were equally candid, could make similar disclosures of the interested motives which lead certain classes to enter the Christian fold, and of the unsatisfactory life led by such converts.



## REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY SIR CHARLES A. ROE.

THE War in South Africa is at last over, to the great relief of all concerned in it. The Boer generals have not only loyally carried out the surrender of their commandos, but they have in many cases given the burghers good advice as to their future conduct. The burghers, as a body, are said to have accepted the new order of things, if not with enthusiasm, at least without bitterness, and they have been most heartily welcomed as fellow-subjects by the whole British nation and its Sovereign. But, as pointed out by Mr. Chamberlain in his great speech in the House of Commons on July 29, now that the first burst of enthusiasm is over, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are many and great difficulties to be overcome before the task of pacification can in any way be regarded as complete. The entire fabric of government has to be built up almost out of chaos ; the country has to be practically resettled ; a system of law and taxation, just to all, and adapted to the wants and even to the sentiments of the different sections of the new communities, has to be established, and, above all, racial animosity has to be allayed. How His Majesty's Government hopes to accomplish this task is clearly and simply explained by Mr. Chamberlain. It has selected Lord Milner as the best possible instrument available, and placed him at the head of the Administration ; it has given him the assistance of an Official Executive and Legislative Council ; it intends to add to the latter a non-official element, and to allow it in due course to expand into a wholly elected Assembly and a complete system of self-government. But Mr. Chamberlain declares emphatically that the Government is not to be "hustled" in this policy of gradual expansion, and that it has no intention

whatever of losing, by a mistaken policy, in peace all that it has gained by the war.

But great as are the dangers and difficulties which lie before the new Government in South Africa itself, the greatest danger of all is to be apprehended from home—the danger of being “hustled” into a premature establishment of representative government. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman did not indeed, in the debate of July 29, make any direct attempt at “hustling,” for his speech was a series of questions, without any distinct exposition of a policy of his own. But even in this speech he expressed his dislike to a “Crown Colony” form of government, not because it is unsuited to the requirements of the case before him, but because it is essentially wrong in principle. For more than a year past he has spoken in the same strain. At the dinner of the “Eighty” and “Russell” clubs at Oxford on March 2, 1901, whilst claiming for the Radical party the possession—and, by implication, the sole possession—of “the vital root of truth,” he put forward the establishment of representative government in the new colonies in South Africa as an example of the fruit which this root would naturally produce. Again, at the great meeting at the Reform Club on June 9 in the same year, when, with such difficulty, he induced the two sides of the party to meet in front, the same object was put forward as the one solitary instance that could be found of “those great principles which unite us all.” It is, therefore, extremely probable that he and the Radical party generally will press on the Government whilst in Opposition, and, should they become the Government themselves, will carry out a policy which they believe to be prescribed, not by ground of temporary expediency, but by some great and eternal truth. It seems, therefore, very desirable that, while there is still time for calm reflection, before the voice of Reason is drowned in party strife, we should consider fairly and fully what ground there is for the assertion that the establishment of representative government in South Africa is demanded,

not by Eternal Truth, of which we can know but little, but by Radical principles as expounded by their greatest masters.

At the head of these masters must be placed Carlyle, whose injunction that we should "clear our minds of cant," and see things as they really are, is the keystone of true Radicalism. He would have laughed to scorn the idea that because representative government has been adopted, either by choice or from necessity, and has worked fairly well in our own and some other countries, it is to be erected into a "fetish," and that when the sacred name is uttered in the House of Commons every head must be uncovered, every knee must bow, and the Minister must promise to set it up on high in every place under his control. He would have said there is nothing more divine about representative government than about a king; like all other forms of government, it is only a means to an end, that end being the general good of the community; what means—that is, what form of government—is best calculated to secure this end must depend entirely on the particular circumstances of each community. Tell me what are the circumstances of your new colonies, and I will tell you what form of government is best suited for them, and I will set it up without any regard to the name by which it may be called.

Next to Carlyle may be placed a man of an entirely opposite personal character, John Stuart Mill, whose work entitled "Representative Government" treats the whole subject impartially and exhaustively. And how does he treat it? He certainly does not begin with any high-flown declaration about the "rights of man"; he merely lays down as the test of a good or bad Government the extent to which it secures the well-being of a community. The first element of well-being is that all members of the community should enjoy an equal amount of civil liberty, that the law and system of taxation should be just and equal and honestly administered. It is quite true that these benefits may exist under a despotism, but despots are liable

to many temptations ; history shows that benevolent and able despots are comparatively rare, and a continuous series of them is not to be looked for. Also, the real well-being of the State does not consist solely in material well-being ; it is based rather on the higher natural qualities of its members, their industry, integrity, and readiness to help one another. Mr. Mill thinks that, on the whole, a representative form of government is best calculated to foster and turn to account these better qualities, and he therefore comes to the conclusion that ideally it is the best form. But he is under no illusion regarding this ideal ; he is very far indeed from erecting it into a "fetish." He knew well that even under the most favourable circumstances the actual must fall short of the ideal. He never supposed that a Parliament would be formed by each constituency electing its wisest man to represent it, and that the men elected would meet together with a resolve to think and speak and act solely for the common good. He was fully alive to the defects to which representative government is naturally liable, and he did not hesitate to point them out, or to express his opinion that the despotism of the majority may often be far worse than that of an individual monarch. He also saw clearly that unless certain conditions existed in the community, or in the presence of certain other conditions, a system of representative government is an impossibility, and the attempt to establish it can only end in disastrous failure. Many of these conditions arise from defects in the people themselves ; they may be wanting in intelligence, and so incapable of understanding or appreciating the system, or they may be so apathetic as not to care to defend it, or they may be destitute of public spirit and self-seeking, and may thus make political life a mere scramble for place and power, to be used for the benefit of individuals or classes. But even where the people are free from these defects as individuals, it is necessary for the success of the representative system that the community, as a whole, should be fairly homogeneous—feeling, thinking, and acting in har-

mony on all great questions, however much they may differ amongst themselves on minor matters. This cannot be the case where the State is composed of different nationalities. On this point Mr. Mill writes as follows :

"Free institutions are next to impossible in countries made up of different nationalities. Amongst a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion necessary to the working of representative government cannot exist. The influences which form opinion and decide political acts are different in the different sections of the country. An altogether different set of leaders has the confidence of one part of the country and of another. The same books, newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, do not reach them. One section does not know what opinions are circulating in another. The same incidents, the same acts, the same system of government affect them in different ways, and each fears more injury to itself from other nationalities than from the common arbiter, the State. Their mutual antipathies are generally much stronger than jealousy of the Government."

After discussing what is likely to happen when one nationality is stronger than another, Mr. Mill proceeds :

"The cases in which the greatest practical obstacle exists to the blending of nationalities are when the nationalities which have been bound together are nearly equal in numbers and in the other elements of power. In such cases, each confiding in its own strength, and feeling itself capable of maintaining an equal struggle with any of the others, is unwilling to be merged in it. Each cultivates with party obstinacy its distinctive peculiarities, obsolete customs, and even declining languages are revived to deepen the separation. When nations thus divided are under a despotic government which is a stranger to all of them, or which, though springing from one, yet feeling greater interest in its own power than in any sympathies of nationality, assigns no privilege to either nation, and

chooses its instruments indifferently from all, in the course of a few generations identity of situation often produces harmony of feeling, and the different races come to feel towards each other as fellow-countrymen, particularly if they are dispersed over the same tract of country. If the era of aspiration for free government arrives before the fusion has been effected, the opportunity has gone by for effecting it."

The State which Mr. Mill had specially in view when he wrote this was apparently Austria, which was then under a strong central Government. Representative institutions have since been introduced, and the recent scenes in the Reichsrath, and the growing bitterness between Hungary and the rest of the Dual Empire, most fully prove the correctness of Mr. Mill's views. It would seem that, unless the Executive Government is still strong enough to seize the reins and carry out something very like a *coup d'état*, the whole Empire must go to pieces.

It is thus perfectly clear that we are in no way compelled by true Radical principles to establish a representative form of government in our new territories in South Africa. On the contrary, Mr. Mill's own words are: "A Government, being altogether only a means, the eligibility of the means must depend on their adaptability to the end." What is the actual state of society in South Africa? We have the two dominant white races—the Dutch and the English—occupying the same country, who, though each by itself may be naturally fit for free institutions, yet, when regarded as a whole, show that diversity of language, custom, and mode of thought and action which, according to Mr. Mill, make the establishment of a joint representative government an impossibility. We have, besides these two white races, a large coloured population wholly unfitted by nature for such a system. The task before us—the end to which any form of government is only a means—is the one described by Mr. Chamberlain in the terms already quoted. Of all the means which could be suggested for accomplishing this

task, that of a representative government seems the least eligible. There are, indeed, some people who hold that the suffrage is a panacea for everything; if once you set men voting, all will come right. But what must be the inevitable result of setting men voting in South Africa? Is it to be supposed for one moment that the voters, casting aside all race prejudices, would combine to elect the best man of their locality, regardless of whether he were Dutch or English? Most assuredly they would not. Wherever there was a sufficient approach to an equality of numbers to make a contest possible, that contest would be fought out on purely race lines, and with the utmost bitterness. The evils of these contests in exciting passions which it is the true interest of all to allay would be enormous. In return for them we should get an Assembly which would be potent only for mischief. If, which is very improbable, the two races were represented by an equal number of members, business would come to a standstill. If, which is more improbable, the English were in a majority, they would be more than human if they could forget all the humiliations of a long series of years and their sufferings during the war. Under no circumstances could they show the Dutch greater consideration than would be shown them by a strong non-representative government, controlled by England itself through the Colonial Secretary, and they would be almost certain to show them less. If the Dutch were in a majority, as they undoubtedly would be unless artificial means were taken for excluding them, they would naturally attempt to recover by a vote the independence they have lost in the field, and they would refuse to vote taxes or to pass any laws at all until this independence was granted. No doubt England might step in and sweep away the Assembly; but it is one thing to refuse to grant representative government prematurely, and another thing to take it away when once it has been granted, however foolishly, and no English Minister would venture to propose the latter step until it was clear, even to the British elector, that

representative government had worked almost irreparable mischief.

It would be disastrous to attempt to give the new colonies representative government in the sense of a government appointed by popular election ; but a really representative government can be formed by other, and in certain circumstances better, means than voting. It is not difficult for an impartial authority, such as the Crown, or governors appointed by it, to select the very best men of every important section of the community, and to select them in numbers proportionate to the importance of each section, and form them into a council more truly representative than any that could be created by any system of election. Our own home Constitution has developed into its present form by a process of natural growth, and the constitutions of our colonies should be left to develop in a similar manner. In the early days of a colony the head of it, whether he be a governor appointed by the Crown or a mere adventurer, must necessarily be supreme, and all executive and legislative power must be centred in him. But in the exercise of these powers he must naturally seek advice, and he will constantly consult privately the leaders of the different sections of the people under his rule. The first step towards a constitutional form of government is to substitute for this private advice a body of experienced men whom the Governor is bound to consult—that is, to supply him with an Executive Council nominated by the Crown. The next step is to enlarge this council for purposes of legislation by adding to it by nomination men who will best represent the various interests of the community, and by separating completely the executive and legislative powers of the Government. At a later stage it may be expedient to substitute election for nomination, in the case, at any rate, of a portion of these members, and in course of time the whole legislature may be elected.

This is precisely the path marked out by Mr. Chamberlain, and the first step has been taken by the selection of



Lord Milner as the best possible head of the Government, and providing him with an Executive and Legislative Council. For the present this council consists entirely of British officials, but it is desired to add to the Administration a certain number of Dutch members, and thus take the second step as soon as possible. How soon this will be depends entirely on the Dutch themselves. Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out the great difficulty of appointing Dutchmen to high official posts; it seems at present almost impossible to find men who can be trusted by ourselves, and at the same time enjoy the confidence of their own countrymen. It should be less difficult to find such men for seats in the Legislative Council. Until they can be found, it is clear that no further step in the direction of self-government can be taken. A general refusal of the leading Dutchmen to accept office under the new Government, or to co-operate with it in the work of legislation, would imply a general feeling of hostility which would make the establishment of a representative system, or a further step towards it, an act of madness.

When any, and what further, steps should be taken must depend, in the first instance, on the recommendations of Lord Milner, and it is of vital importance that he should be left free to make these, and that they should be considered, when made, with reference solely to what is really best for the new colonies. Nothing could be more mischievous than that pressure should be brought to bear upon him, directly or indirectly, to compel him to shape his views in accordance with *à priori* theories likely to go down with the House of Commons or the English democracy. These bodies may be good judges of what is best for themselves, but very bad judges of what is best for other communities. They can have but little acquaintance with the facts of the case, and their theories as to general principles of government, which they are apt to regard as great and indisputable truths, have been formed from an observation of wholly different facts. In England the

great mass of the people are of the same race, with the same general habits of thought and feeling, and the Executive Government affects but little their daily lives. The House of Commons is but a reflection of the people. The members of the House call themselves by different names, and range themselves into two main bodies—the supporters of the Government and the Opposition. But the members in each group are, as a whole, men of the same class, education, and ideas, and a Government is little more than a committee appointed by the House itself, from one side or the other, for carrying on the affairs of the nation on principles common to both sides. When a Government falls, the two parties change seats, a new committee is formed, and things go on much as before. Measures on which either side feels keenly may be carried or dropped, but the change of drivers involves no general upsetting of the State coach. A Government with us has ceased to be regarded as a thing which really governs and must be obeyed. We look upon it as a mere servant, to be dismissed at a moment's notice for any fault, real or imaginary ; and we even sometimes treat it as a whipping-boy, to be taken out and flogged whenever things go wrong or the master is out of humour. It is difficult for men who have lived only under this condition of things to realize a totally different one—one in which a change of drivers does not mean merely a polite handing over the reins by the driver to a box-seat passenger, who may be just as good a whip as himself, but the loss of a driver altogether, and a consequent general smash. In South Africa the coachman must be for a long time to come a very experienced and careful driver, and he must firmly refuse to hand over the reins to any raw hands who may wish to have a try at driving.

Our two greatest colonies, Canada and Australia, are constantly held up to us as an example of the prosperity and loyalty to the Mother-country created by the bestowal of self-government. No analogy could be more misleading.

Into the question of how far the prosperity of these countries is due to their form of government it is unnecessary to enter ; it is enough to say that self-government had become the only form of government possible, and that they possess that homogeneity of population which is the essential element of the success of the representative system. As for the loyalty of which they have given such splendid proof, it is due, not to the form of government, but to the feelings and instincts of the people themselves. The ties of kinship counted for much, but the instinct of self-preservation counted for even more. These great colonies saw clearly that what was at stake in South Africa was not merely the question of English or Dutch supremacy in that country, but the very existence of the Empire of which they formed part. The truth is, not that the colonies were loyal because they enjoyed self-government, but that their self-government did no harm because they were loyal. There is no disguising the fact that self-government means potential independence, and were Canada and Australia to cease to be loyal, and were they to decide deliberately that their interests would be better served by finally separating from England, we should not attempt to coerce them. This is the key to the Home Rule problem throughout the Empire—are we prepared for its natural results? If we are not, it is folly to establish it.

A far more appropriate illustration of the natural result of self-government is that afforded by the case of Cape Colony. There self-government was set up, it may be prematurely or even foolishly, but certainly under circumstances which offered far better prospects of success than those which exist at present in our new colonies. How the system has worked has been fully described by Mr. E. Dicey in a recent article in the *Fortnightly Review*. Broadly speaking, the result has been this: After years of what some people would call "healthy political activity," but what others would call a wasting of the best energies

of the country in mischievous strife, the position at the outset of the war was such that it was an open question whether it would not throw in its lot with our enemies. It could hardly have done so formally without incurring the penalties of high treason ; but it was quite within its constitutional power to refuse all assistance to England, and do its best to paralyze English action. It did, in fact, exercise this power to a limited degree, and it would have done so more fully had not the overzeal of some members of the Afrikaner party carried them into open rebellion, and thus led to the establishment of martial law and the temporary suspension of the Constitution. No doubt Mr. Chamberlain was quite right, for the reasons he gave, in refusing to take action on the petition for the continuation of this suspension ; but it is very doubtful if his belief that, when the Cape Parliament meets again, it will perform its obvious duty is anything more than an expression of a pious hope. Yet, until this hope has been realized, until it can be truly said that representative government has proved a success in Cape Colony, it would be a grave mistake to set up such a system in our new territories.

It may be said that this discussion of principles, and of the probable effect of granting self-government to the Boers, is useless ; we are bound to grant it to them by the express terms of their surrender. This is certainly not so ; the last clause of the surrender agreement merely announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to establish self-government "when circumstances permit." When this will be depends on the Boers themselves, and they have two courses open to them. On the one hand, they may frankly accept the new order of things, and, laying aside "politics," set to work to heartily co-operate with their British fellow-subjects in providing for the real wants of their common country. If they do this, they may bring about in a much shorter period than the two or three generations suggested by Mr. Mill that "fusion" which is the essential preliminary to the successful establishment of

self-government. On the other hand, they may submit to the present position only with sullen acquiescence; they may keep jealously aloof, refuse all co-operation, and await the day when a second Gladstone will make another surrender and call it "magnanimity." Which of the two courses they will follow remains to be seen. The first is undoubtedly the wisest course, but the second is the easier, and it is the one likely to be recommended by their so-called friends in Europe, especially by the Pro-Boers in England. Let us "clear our minds of cant," and, if we do, we shall see that there is no question of true liberty at stake. Under a Crown Colony form of government Dutch and English will alike enjoy perfect individual freedom, and be allowed the fullest opportunity of making their wants and wishes known to the Government. They may feel sure that, as far as these are reasonable, they will be met. As we have seen, the Crown Colony system will, if things go well, expand gradually into full self-government. Mr. Chamberlain has complained of the burden of governing a colony from England under our Parliamentary system. If he is compelled to drop the burden in sheer weariness, and to set up representative government prematurely, in order to get rid of the perpetual interference of the House of Commons, this would be a proof, not of the suitability of that system for the colonies, but of its failure at home.

## ENGLISH TANGIER.

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

IN 1662, when the unhappy marriage between King Charles II. and the ill-favoured little Infanta Catherine of Portugal was arranged, there came into the possession of Britain, as part of her dowry, two Portuguese colonies. One of these—the then sparsely-peopled island of Bombay—has now become world-renowned and of inestimable value to the British Empire; while the other—the Morocco coast town of Tangier—proved in every sense a failure, although its surrender was bitterly opposed in Portugal, and hailed with joy in England at the time. Great satisfaction was given to the English by their Moorish acquisition. The new possession was regarded as a suitable protection to the merchantmen against the attacks of the Algerine and Salee pirates (a very real danger at the time), as well as a port of call for the India-bound ships. It was held to be the centre of a new sphere of influence, whence the intrigues of Spain there might be checked; and, lastly, when a mole or breakwater was erected (of which we hear much, and over which vast sums were wasted), it was fondly hoped that Tangier would have a harbour rivalling any of the other African or Spanish seaports. Most of these surmises were reasonable, but the real condition of the city was overlooked. Although the Portuguese had possessed the colony since 1471, they had not succeeded in acquiring any territory outside the walls, and even held the town solely by continual warfare with the Moors. At the time of cession the fortifications were much dilapidated, and the ruinous city itself was meagrely peopled, as far as we can learn, by Mestizo Portuguese, Jewish families, and slaves. Hampered by many instructions regarding the manner and methods of his dealings with the Moorish chiefs, the Earl of Peterborough was despatched late in 1662 as first

Governor of the new colony. Had his own discretionary power been free, he would have had ample opportunity of extending the English rule in Morocco, as the three chief Moorish potentates were at variance, "Gayland Alcade of Arcilla" being at war both with the rulers of Salee and Tafilet. He was recalled suddenly, however, when only a few skirmishes (one disastrous to the English) had taken place between the garrison and the Moors. The new Governor was Lord Rutherford, the ex-Governor of Dunkirk, who was created Earl of Teviot, and sent out to Tangier in 1663. He appears, although a soldier of fortune, to have been a man of mark, and to have done well by his people, but at home he was regarded with suspicion as a papist. He extended the area of the colony considerably, and erected a series of forts for its protection. The wars, however, with the redoubtable Gayland, to whom the Spaniards secretly gave assistance, still continued, and after the Moorish chief had conquered Salee, he became a formidable opponent indeed. Then came the great catastrophe. On May 4, 1664, the Earl of Teviot, at the head of a party of troops, sallied out of the town to reconnoitre in the open country, but, falling into a Moorish ambush, was cut off with nineteen officers and 400 men, the flower of the Tangerine garrison. This, as Lord Teviot, was the one disinterested Governor that British Tangier had, really gave the death-blow to the settlement, and Pepys records that the disaster "afflicts the King much."

On the death of its leader, the colony was left in pitiful plight. The food-supply was scanty; the Spaniards, who could have assisted, were hostile; and the Moors outside the walls on the alert for an attack. Therefore, when Lord Bellasis, the new Governor, arrived in April, 1665, he gained no small kudos by making peace with Gayland, little knowing that the power of the latter was fast waning; and, having done so successfully, left the city with remarkable celerity to reap his reward at the Court of Whitehall, where as a Catholic he was a *persona gratissima*.

Andrew Marvel, in his "Advice to a Painter," has a severe attack on Lord Bellasis' honesty, which is worth quoting :

"Let Bellasis' autumnal face be seen  
Rich with the spoils of a poor Algerine,  
Who, trusting in him, was by him betrayed,  
And so should we, were his advice obeyed.  
The hero once got honour by the sword;  
He got his wealth by breaking of his word."

The reasons for the Alcade of Arcilla's treaty of peace soon became apparent during the rule of Colonel Henry Norwood, for he was attacked by the ruler of Taflet, and was soon reduced to such an extremity that, shut up in his own city, he sent an envoy to the Governor of Tangier, imploring his aid and protection. It is a pity that this was not granted, as the empire of Morocco might well have fallen into our hands ; but by the time the home authorities were communicated with, the King of Taflet had become all-powerful, and our whilom ally of Arcilla was absolutely crushed.

A quick succession of Governors followed the pious Colonel Norwood. They were all men of small account, except at Court—Lord Middleton, Lord Inchiquin, or Lord Ossory—and more than one fruitless embassy was sent to treat with the new Shariffian dynasty. In 1677 there was a curious measure adopted. The Jews were expelled from the city of Tangier, and the reason was given that they had deserved it by acting as Moorish spies. Pepys, however, says that a later anti-Semitic outburst was really because the Jewish merchants "stood in the way of the Governor's profits," and was against advice from England.

When Lord Inchiquin assumed the government, he wrote mournfully that there was "no one thing in a condition fit for defence," and it may be as well to look at what the town was at the time. One writer describes Tangier as "as pleasant a place as any in the world"; another less optimistic one as "without cleanliness." It held 1,500



houses within the walls, which, though extensive, were, as we have seen, of little use as fortifications. There was a strong citadel; a Catholic cathedral, "a superb edifice"; and two English churches "of great beauty," one dedicated to St. Charles the Martyr.

Of the six hundred inhabitants exclusive of the garrison there is only one opinion. They are invariably described as profligate, the Tangerines particularly resembling the people of Goa at the heyday of its prosperity and depravity. The English colonists, we are told, were "all needy and greedy"; the officials sent out either to enrich themselves, if possible, or to rid the Court of troublesome suppliants; and the unfortunate soldiery left there shut up in the town with their pay many months in arrear, all goods being "three times dearer than in England." The money which was sent from home grudgingly from time to time dwindled through the peculation of officials or was sunk in the disastrous attempt to make the harbour a good one, and so was eventually altogether lost.

During an interregnum in December, 1677, when Sir Palmes Fairborne was in command, the discontent at non-payment and the hardships of the soldiery led to a mutiny; but it was quelled by the bravery of the acting Governor, who, seizing the musket from the ringleader, shot him dead on the spot. The only recognition this brave act got was the appointment of Lord Ossory as Governor over the unfortunate Fairborne. The latter, after a gallant defence of Tangier against a blockade by the Moorish Sultan, Muley Hassan, fell while inspecting the ramparts in October, 1680, leaving his family in great poverty. While the siege lasted, and during the defence against the Moors, discontent was rife. We learn from Sir James Halket's MS.,\* for instance, that Lieutenant-Colonel Tollemache was placed above his senior officer—"that honour was put upon him, I believe, being a man of interest at Court"; and the same treatment was meted out to the troops in many instances, so that had it

\* Signet Library, Edinburgh.

not been for their natural bravery and loyalty, one would wonder that the town was held so long.

Under the new Governor, Colonel Sackville, a novel change was made in the English tactics. The Moors were attacked, and (showing that the policy of attack was the right one) driven into the open country, 2,000 being left dead on the field. This lucky stroke had the effect of producing immediate peace, Sir James Leslie treating successfully with Muley Ismail in March, 1681; and in the next month Colonel Sackville retired, leaving the command to a worthy successor, Colonel Kirke.

But the English Parliament at this time was considerably alarmed at the true position of Tangier. It was remarked that most of the Governors had been Catholics, and fear began to spread that "Tangier is a nursery of Popish soldiers." King Charles II. at the time of the siege applied for a grant of money for the preservation of the colony, on the ground that, were relief not sent out, the two millions already expended on the fortifications and mole would be lost also; but the Parliament gave a stern refusal, saying that they were not satisfied it was not the centre of a Catholic propaganda, and certainly most of the contemporary accounts accuse the Government of having "made it their business to ruin the Protestant interest."

In 1681-1682 the Emperor of Morocco sent a return embassy to Whitehall, which Evelyn describes in his Diary. The Ambassador and his suite won golden opinions by their behaviour. They were received by the King, to whom they brought presents of lions and ostriches, and entertained by his Court, and the envoy was esteemed by Evelyn "a civil heathen."

This embassy had little effect on the relations between the Moors and the English at Tangier, except that, notwithstanding Kirke's protest, Moors were permitted to settle within the town. The insecurity of the garrison still continued.

In 1683 Lord Dartmouth was nominated Governor, and

as the position of the English was so untenable, he set sail with "twenty-one sail of ships and vessels" for Tangier, bearing instructions to remove all the Christian inhabitants of the place, both English and Portuguese, demolish the walls and the mole, on which so much money had been expended, and finally abandon the town to the Moors.

The Governor writes that "on ye first appearance the inhabitants were ready to be packing up . . . the Moors have likewise the same intelligence." No one cared to remain longer than necessary in the ill-fated town. Luckily for us, the indefatigable diarist, Samuel Pepys, accompanied the expedition, and his account of his doings before and during the embarkation of the inhabitants has strange touches, which bring the weary life of the colonists home to us. Bishop Ken, then Chaplain to the Governor, was also one of the suite, and from him we get more glimpses of the contemporary life.

Lord Dartmouth and his assistants had much to do. Besides valuing the houses and lands, and deciding on the claims of the various inhabitants, he had the task of dismantling and destroying the fortresses and blowing up the mole. He writes on November 16: "I have from the garrison and fleet upwards of 2,000 men at a time working upon the moal, and these light nights will help us to make good riddance. For God's sake, sir, implore His Majesty not to think the time long . . . the work is much greater than was imagined." The mole itself was so strongly cemented that holes had to be drilled in it before it could be blown up piecemeal.

Lord Dartmouth's despatches give some interesting information about the town. We learn that it had a library, and that among the books were "Paradise Regained," Fuller's "Worthies," "The Mystery of Jesuitism," and the "Works of King Charles I." The Catholic cathedral (which the monks still possessed, although at the cession it had been stipulated "that their mortality should not be supplied") was dismantled. The chalices and ornaments of the Church of

St. Charles the Martyr were carefully removed and destined for God's-house Chapel at Plymouth; and we also hear that the greatest of the urban proprietors was "Mr. Smith, present Mayor of the City," who was "worthy of great consideration."

What we glean from Samuel Pepys\* is more about the social life, the entertainments—colonial hospitality—in the midst of the daily work of demolition. He, like all the former writers, was much struck by the general decay as well as the immorality of the place. "I see," says he, "few women of any quality or beauty in the place; only the mayoress and two sisters of his and hers appear gentlewomen." Then of the Governor's lady: "A lady I have long remarked for her beauty; but she is mightily altered, and they tell stories on her part, while her husband minds pleasure of the same kind on his." And again: "In the whole place nothing but vice of all sorts—drinking, etc.; the women as much as the men."

We need not, therefore, wonder that, with the colonists' assistance, the work of destruction proceeded with all possible haste, until, on February 3, 1683-1684, Lord Dartmouth was able to write that the forts were blown up and the castle undermined. The church was dismantled, and "when the aforesaid mines were so happily blown up, a form of prayer, prepared by Dr. Ken, relating to the present conjuncture, was read in the Town-House." The next two days were spent "in pulling down all the remaining quarters, guardhouses, churches, etc." The ruins of the buildings were thrown into the common sewer; and on the 5th the town and castle were "demolished" piece by piece. Everything was now finished, and all traces of the English rule (except some English coins buried by the King's desire among the ruins of the fort) removed from Tangier. Our evacuation, however, was marked by a final misunderstanding with the Moors, though it was intended to have been a bloodless one. Lord Dartmouth, before

\* "Narrative of his voyage to Tangiers" (Life, etc., Lond., 1841).

departure, sent to warn the 3,000 Moors who were encamped under a flag of truce on the sea-shore not to come within the ruined town, and to withdraw at once for their own safety ; “ but the Moors, with their usual stubbornness, did not mind it, which they heartily repented a little after, for whilst they were swarming among the ruins ” an unfired mine exploded, killing over forty souls,\* so that even our exit from Morocco was not so harmless as we had intended it to be.

\* Earl of Dartmouth's MSS. Hist. MSS. Com. Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part I.

## TANSAR'S ALLEGED LETTER.\*

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

I HAD intended to divide my brief review of this very interesting document into two portions, one concerning its facts, and one upon the style; but the style is in itself almost the most prominent fact, and it is inextricably bound up with the other elements.

What, then, is our conclusion?—first and foremost as to the body of the document. And here I differ from the eminent editor, as I cannot too pointedly repeat, *only in the degree* of my estimate of the matter; yet I cannot at all conceal the fact that this matter of “degree” is decisive. He excerpts all that seems to him to be absolutely impossible as a portion of a work written at the time and place stated, about A.D. 210-234, and I simply follow in his track so far as this principle is concerned. And among the impossible allusions he excludes all those portions of the letter which speak of matters which were notoriously not in existence at that period of Ardashīr, and secondly several other important items which do not seem to him to be congruous with that early authorship, such as the mention of the “will” of the man who is at the next chapter spoken of as practically the inspiring originator of the so-called epistle itself. But he preserves a large part of the document, and attributes it really to one Tansar (so deciphering the name in the Dinkard and in Maçoudī, or Masūdī), to correspond with the name of a chief Mobed, or Archbishop (*sic*), under Ardashīr the First. I endeavour to carry out *the same process of excision exactly, only that I leave a greatly more reduced residue as the result*. Things that could not possibly have had any existence in A.D. 234 (*circa*) were of course not referred to at that period; nor could a style of composition together with a grasp and delicacy of thought

\* See the January, 1902, number of this *Review*.

which were common in Persia in the thirteenth century, and also possible from the eighth to the tenth centuries, have been habitual to any such person as a simple Mobed of Mobeds under Ardashīr. Perhaps this is a favourable place to bring in another unmistakable touch from the hand of a later artist, even if we must go back to the "introduction" to the "letter" in which it occurs. It is that wonderful piece of counsel which Aristotle gives Alexander. The sage, for so he was evidently supposed to be, tells him (Alexander) "to leave princelets independent of each other, so that they shall be sure to fall out; so many misunderstandings, rivalries, and quarrels will arise among them that they will have no time to avenge themselves upon you, and will be so absorbed in such distractions that they will forget the past." Surely such blasé remarks were never made by an Aristotle, first or second. But this was not in the letter proper. Here is, however, a piece of avowed thirteenth-century writing, or, at least, of ninth-century writing. It is not presented as a part of the letter, and *yet it matches in style completely with it*; and it matches also with that style throughout.

I must therefore designate the whole document, and without hesitation, as being in its present form a subtle political fiction of the highest possible value, worked up like many other such spuria,\* and upon ancient traditions of the glorious Sasanian Restoration, intended, moreover, to gratify the wounded vanity of the crushed Persian circles who in the seventh to ninth century, or later, still adhered either in heart or practice to the primitive Persian faith. And I do not yield at all to the editor in my admiration for parts of it, nor for the skill or veracity disclosed in it, regarded as an artistic production or reproduction of a later age. I will go further, and would say that the document was unquestionably founded, like almost every other docu-

\* Such spuria are well-nigh universal, as the reader should understand. Recall for instance the letters of Heraclitus, the false books of Plato, the spurious pieces of Philo, etc. Literature is full of such spurious documents.

ment of the kind, upon facts past or long past. Beyond any manner of question, there was a flood of political circulars or official "letters" sent by the agents of Ardashīr most energetically to every princelet in the entire empire, seeking his adherence to the new régime with promises and threats (see above). Instead of there being one "letter" like this, in all save its impossible amplifications and its thirteenth-century style, there must, of course, have been scores of them. That Restoration was a "large affair," if ever a restoration was. The amount of "business"—military, diplomatic, and bureaucratic—involved in it must have been immense; and Ardashīr was not the man to neglect its chief items in any way. If there was no Tansar as Mobed of Mobeds at his Court, then there was beyond all doubt some other Archbishop, so to speak, if not like him personally, yet discharging the self-same functions; and it matters little what his name was called. And such an official could not have avoided being in the very centre of the situation, for Ardashīr was pushing the interests of the national religion for all that they were worth. It is not improbable that an ardent fanaticism was prominent among the chief forces on which he relied to complete those results which seemed to be, and which were, quite all-important. If, then—I repeat it—there was actually no such person as this Archbishop at the Court of Ardashīr about 211-235 A.D., there were most certainly many busy and shrewd ecclesiastical functionaries of various degrees closely resembling this supposed Tansar, and ready to do the bidding of their master. These persons would be naturally ecclesiastics for the reasons given; and they were doubtless writing letters continuously to the Governments of the provinces, each one of which must have dealt in panegyric towards the new Emperor, though in rougher and simpler words. And over these astute persons there was, unquestionably, the titular head; but whether this nominal Archbishop were really the force which Ardashīr was using, or only the figure-head to some other abler man,



can never be surmised. 'Office itself, however, at that early day must have constituted a predominant element of power. Still, whatever imperfections may exist in the grouping of the ancient facts which are supposed to be represented, it cannot be denied that ancient facts are illustrated in the details. And that is my verdict.

The piece is beautifully worked up with ingenious and refined imagination from ancient hearsay, or possibly from ancient documents.

But what results if the letter be genuine, as actually written at the date of Ardashīr? Let it be supposed for a moment, and for the sake of argument, that this really attractive piece was in reality so composed, as it stands, at the time stated. What then? What bearing has this upon the composition of the "Old Avesta"? What sort of an author does it show this author to have been? Was he a "*platonist of the school of Socrates*"? (*sic*). If so, I fear that he was a bad imitation of his masters; or the school, on the other hand, must itself have degenerated. Let me be pardoned for saying it; but if ever a vain coxcomb penned a pointed political paper (not, so to say, a "pamphlet"), it was this wonderful ascetic Archbishop who declares that he had abjured the world for fifty years, and who is also supposed to be a person who\* renounced a throne! one of the most suspicious items, as it seems to me, in literature.

No possible freedom in the last very fair French translation can at all conceal the eccentricities of the individual on the supposition that it was written at the time stated. If a Tansar as a narrator wrote this in A.D. 210-234, then he was not an infatuated egotist, only because he was untruthful; and upon that understanding his existence was wholly to be regretted as an element in so serious a situation.

Nor was his chief himself, as he depicts him, any more exalted in principle than we should expect for the time,

\* As Maçoudi (Masūdi) says.

place, and circumstances. But let it be once more supposed, for the sake of argument, not only that the piece was genuine, but that all such objectionable features as we have noticed were wholly absent, what, even then, in all the world has such a letter to do with the antiquity of the Avesta? Do such allusions to speculative thought as appear in it at all illustrate the presence of the Gāthic spirit in Persia at that time? It seems to me to be absurd on the face of it to mention such a parallel. And where is the first word in it even about the collection of ancient documents, to which allusion has been made? Not that we should suppose for a moment that such collections had been neglected. What bearing could such expected, and even necessary, clerical diligence have upon the antiquity or non-antiquity of those time-honoured relics? Collections of ancient parts of the Avesta, with additions to them and translations of them into later Zend and into Pahlavi, must have been taking place from the earliest periods, and especially at crises of religious revival.

Are we to suppose that the Gāthas were written in the year 1 or at B.C. 100 because a resuscitation took place when Zoroastrianism mounted the throne in the person of Ardashīr two or three hundred years thereafter? There is no necessary or relevant connection whatsoever, so far as I can see, between the two propositions.

*Of course*, religious zeal was at a white heat in A.D. 210 and for some time following; and with it theological ingenuity became active, and documents worthy to be called "Avesta" must have been composed during those years; the contrary is most improbable. Is it possible that a Restoration which was probably largely incited by the priestly class, and which seated a person upon the throne who himself claimed priestly descent, and which, as we see from much unintentional evidence, affected a religious sentiment, could possibly have neglected its, to it, so sacred Scriptures! If the hated Alexander could eagerly seek out the Persian sages, and affect the Persian lore,

together with the Persian dress, how much more would the busy Ardashīr attend to a matter so vital in every sense to the situation! Except in times of exceptional neglect or degeneration, the documents were not only periodically, but almost continuously, subjected to revisional treatment; how many scores of centres must there have been where the rites were celebrated! And how often were the scrolls stored in their priestly chests recopied, as they became worn out by use, new documents, expository or original, being most certainly often added to their number! The Pahlavi translations, or Zend of the Avesta, must at least have been continually re-copied, emended (?), and increased from the very first. It seems simply childish to place any emphasis whatever upon that statement of the Dinkard, to the effect that the religious documents were collected.\* *Of course*, the Scriptures were re-collected, re-copied, and enlarged; and if the Vendidad, the Yashts, and the Gāthas possessed in themselves any evidence at all that they originated at the time of Ardashīr, *of course* it would be natural to suppose that they were among the documents which were composed at that period, and that it was they, among others, which were re-copied, explained (!), and sanctified afresh; and this would be practically certain, and, so far as re-editing (*sic*) was concerned (excuse the term), rearrangement in the liturgies, etc., this must certainly have happened even with regard to the Gāthas themselves. The statement cited does not touch the question of their origin, which depends wholly upon their internal evidence, and upon that of the other lore, the Indian, which is so intrinsically related to them. *Some* documents were continually appearing; and some, beyond a doubt, appeared under the stimulus of the Restoration; but what those documents were would be plainly shown by their contents; that is to say, their contents would plainly show at a glance, at least, whether it were possible that they were composed

\* See it cited above, in the first part of this article in this *Review*, January, 1902.

at such a time, place, and under such circumstances or not. Our inquiry, however, has reference to a particular part of the Avesta, that universally acknowledged to be its original and oldest part.

These ancient pieces are, as I need hardly say, of all possible documents of the kind about the least possible as the forged product of the Sasanian age, early or late ; and, in fact, there is no one, so far as I am aware, who supposes that they were a product of that age, unless, indeed, there is a certain undertone of insinuation throughout the translation and representation of this letter, which was intended to induce a current of opinion trending that way. The question, however, lies in a certain sense upon our path, and we must consider it.

Is it, then, likely or possible that while priests were elated in a crisis of enthusiasm at the glorious events which were transpiring, any one of them, even if he had the power, should have set to work to forge those deeply meditative though impassioned pieces, with all their wranglings and their hopes, and with their wonderful internal evidences, as well, of contemporaneous historical origin? Was that a time for a fantastic invention which was to foist upon the people *the very central document of their religion*, for let it never be forgotten that the Gāthas were the very core of all their religious traditions of the Persians then, and deservedly so to be considered, for they are obviously a contemporaneous record of the life of their Prophet ; and they, the Gāthas, together with other sacred pieces, were the objects of worship in course of the liturgies? Or was the impression, on the other hand, at all really intended to be insidiously conveyed that the Gāthas thus actually *arose as genuine compositions*, with all their homogeneous lost companions, in Medo-Persia in the years A.D. 210-235 (*circa*)? Granted that there existed brilliant schools of Zend philology all through the Sasanian age—and the origin of the new Zend alphabet thoroughly proves that such centres must have existed—

can culture itself account for the origin of a document which is totally alien to all the facts of the period? Where was the Vīstāsp struggling for the early throne? Or was this name (Vīstāsp) a pseudonym for Ardashīr with the extinct Arsacid, or his lingering adherents as the dregvant? Were these the objects of the Gāthic anathemas? Where were the Daēvas—that is to say, the Daēva-worshippers? These were on the south-east, towards India, not among the Parthians or Persians, who had been Mazda-worshippers, as is believed,† for ages. The lingering Daēva-worshippers were kindred to the Rig-veda men. There was once a day when Iranians, too, worshipped Daēvas, like their so distant kinsmen. “Heaven-gods” was an Indo-Aryan name in ages lost to memory. Did Daēva-worshipping tendencies linger till A.D. 234 at Teheran? The Gāthic struggle, as we hold, was one of the original conflicts which turned those Daēvas into Devils, and a signal part of one of them. These questions cited are truly difficult. And who was the Zarathushtra? Was this Tansar the man? Such questions seem to an antiquarian critic to be simply irrational, and they were hardly ever really meant to be seriously stated, if at all. And here I must recall what was said in the preface to my new and curtailed edition of the Gāthas, which seems also to have produced conviction in some quarters at least. It anticipates, indeed, what I shall have to enlarge upon still later; but it will yet be useful if now stated here. It is that we hold the Gāthas to be ancient, not at all because of anything in the nature of authoritative assertion to that effect contained within them, or in any other possible documents. All definitive assertions of claims to antiquity, veracity, possibility, or probability, have with me at least—for I venture to speak for no one else—absolutely no persuading force. On the contrary, such assertions if too urgently presented would immediately arouse my own suspicions. Just in so

\* A word for the “faithless” with which the Gāthas deal.

† That is to say, largely so. See the Religion of the Arsacids.

far as any passages in the Gāthas\* *asserted* them to have been composed at any particular date early or late, just in that degree would I, for one, repudiate such a passage. We hold them to be the delineation of long-past scenes; but scenes, indeed, like those in the "Iliad," or other very ancient compositions, might have been totally poetical and illusory, and obviously intended so to be understood; but we believe these hymns to be the expression of contemporaneous life, because they *disclose this without intending it, and as it were in passing*. They are made up of personal allusions of such a character as to convince us that they refer to real and contemporaneous events. And we hold them to be centuries older than Ardashīr, because *these allusions are wholly unconscious*. They obviously refer to people who could only have existed at an early period, for we are forced by their language, and, above all, by their extraordinary metres, to associate them with the Rig-vedic Indians of at least many centuries before Ardashīr. Evident traces of positive association with Rig-vedic worshippers linger in the books themselves, or, at least, traces of association appear with remnants of tribes, the bulk of whom had indeed, perhaps a long time before, pressed southward through the Khyber.† But I will not pause further upon this just here, as I have dealt with it before.

To sum up, then, my own impressions, which, however, I am very far indeed from wishing to press unduly upon others—though, as I am in duty bound to say, they have been formed after very great and very prolonged labour and reflection throughout many years—they are as follows :

I confess that I cannot at all understand how a great scholar of such widespread authority as the gifted editor of this letter could push it forward as having any decisive

\* See my introduction to the second edition of the Gāthas, 1900.

† *Sic*.

connection whatever with the question of the "antiquity" of those strangely original rough hymns, or, indeed, with that of any other part of the Avesta. I reserve to this late place a remark with regard to what many might consider to be the crucial point of all—the identity of the names Bīshar and Tansar. I may say that the identification of the two is not at all so curious as it looks, and to my mind the probability of the identification is shaken merely by the fact that it is not so urgently called for—that is to say, that it is not needed as an element of proof. The existence of such a high-priest with such functions, and the collection and revision of "Scriptures," together with the re-organization of the ecclesiastical institutions and the ritual, were all certainties and matters of course. The identification of the *name* itself is of little importance so long as we see that the items mentioned were altogether commonplace; *both they and the name deny nothing, and they prove as little.* The only item worth a moment's notice is the eccentric allusion to the Platonic character of this Bīshar-Tansar, and that, together with what corresponds to it in the "letter," was one of the obvious affectations of a later century, brought in by the sojourn of Simplicius at the Persian capital in A.D. 533.

Scraps of philosophy lingered from that hour, doubtless, in many a linguistic school of Persia, and they were by no means absorbed by the intense Biblical fervour which took possession of Persian literature almost simultaneously through the Arabic conquest. Does, then, the Platonic character of this Bīshar-Tansar of the sixth, seventh, ninth, or thirteenth century prove or suggest any strong influence exerted by the Philonian λόγος in Persia in A.D. 210-235? I may say at once—though, of course, I reopen the question elsewhere—that any philosophic tendency following upon Simplicius' visit in the sixth century seems to me to be utterly bereft of all power as a source of proof in this connection in A.D. 210-234 odd.

Having done my best to form an unprejudiced opinion

of the value of this most interesting piece of literature as evidence of the existence of the philosophical habit of mind in Persia in A.D. 210, it would be now my duty, after thanking the editor and the translators of it, to go into similar details with regard to the Philonian philosophy itself, but this I have already done sufficiently in this *Review*.



## CHINESE BUDDHISM.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE Chinese official histories give a very plain and straightforward account of the origin of Buddhism in China. Europeans, missionary or other, whose knowledge of Chinese literature has enabled them to tell the story to the Western world, have not been able to add many, if any, new matters of fact. The utmost they have been able to do is to co-ordinate or regroup the statements made by the Chinese, and perhaps here and there to corroborate an ambiguous or incomplete assertion by comparing it with testimony obtainable in India or elsewhere. So far from adding anything new in the way of evidence, they have at times rather confused the issues by obtruding amongst simple statements of fact their own energetic expressions of opinion, too often the result of either historical bias or religious zeal. I think I have read most of what European translators from the Chinese have written, and the impression left upon me is that, look at it as we may, Chinese testimony is the only obtainable testimony regarding Chinese Buddhism. The learned Père Hoang, whose literary work, like his spiritual cure, is associated with the Jesuit establishments at Shanghai, appears to be the only Christian writer upon this subject who has confined himself strictly to citing bare matters of fact in the original words used. On referring to the Chinese standard history (sixth century) of the Tartar Toba Dynasty, which ruled in North China for a century and a half (386-450), I find that the excellent official account of Early Buddhism given in Chapter CXIV. of that book corresponds very closely to what Père Hoang published in a valuable Chinese work about ten years ago. It is also evident that the history (seventh century) of the Sui Dynasty (581-618) has been utilized (Chapter XXXV.) by the learned priest. I translated

and then reproduced this dry narrative in an English dress in the *Chinese Recorder* for 1894, with explanatory notes. I now venture to give an amended account, in more cursive and readable form, for the use, and I hope the entertainment, of those who are not specialists.

In the year 62 A.D. the Emperor of China had a dream or a vision. It appeared to his imagination that a golden man, with a bright light in the crown of his head, had flown into the palace hall. The Emperor promptly mentioned this incident to his courtiers, on which one of them, whose name was Fu Ngi, suggested that "it must be *Fou-t'u*." (These two syllables are merely the modern Pekingese way of pronouncing what in many Chinese dialects still sounds like *Vudu*, and what was then intended to represent *Budh*, as is easily provable by comparison with other ancient foreign words expressed in Chinese hieroglyphs.) Then it was that the name Buddha first appeared in China; or, what is practically the same thing, was recognised by responsible persons capable of recording official facts. It was explained to the Emperor that Budh was the name of a divinity in western parts, on which a mission to T'ien-chuh or India was at once organized in order to find out more about this mysterious Buddhism.

The next question is: How much did the Chinese then know of India? The answer is as follows: In B.C. 129 a Chinese political envoy had succeeded, after many perils, in making his way to the state of Ta Hia (Bactriana), south of the river Wei, or Kwei (Oxus). There he noticed certain articles in the bazaars which seemed to be of Chinese provenance. He discovered from the traders of Bactria that they were in the habit of trading with a country "several thousand *li*" to their south-east, called Shên-tuh, where they often bought such articles. (Three *li* go to a mile.) The customs of life prevailing in Shên-tuh were very similar to those of Bactria. The capital was on a great river; the land was flat, damp, and hot; the people were settled in habit, and elephants were used in battle. These, based

on hearsay, are the only statements of fact regarding Shên-tuh, which, called later T'ien-tuh and T'ien-chuh, is clearly provable to mean North India. Contrary to what Père Hoang has stated, Chang K'ien related nothing of Buddhism; but the *Sui Shu* is responsible for the gloss, and not Père Hoang. It is for philology to explain how far *Shinduk* (for that is the "value" of the modern dissyllable) represents Sindhu, or some other analogous Indian or Tibetan word. But Chang K'ien, the celebrated envoy in question, went on to shrewdly suggest to the Emperor that the alleged position of Shên-tuh, south-east of Bactria, pointed logically to a trade and a neighbourhood with the remoter parts of recently assimilated South-western China. This view seemed so obviously correct that the Emperor at once proceeded to complete the half-abandoned conquest of South-west China with a view of reaching his coveted political ally, Bactria, by way of this strange India, and of thus escaping the attacks of Tartar hordes upon the Central Asian trade and mission route, now discovered *for the first time*. About B.C. 119 Chang K'ien was sent on a second mission to the West, but this time he himself got no farther than the region of Issyk-kul and modern Ili. However, before returning to China, he sent members of his large suite on sub-missions to Bactria, Parthia, Khoten, Shên-tuh, and other States. These envoys dribbled back a year after the return and death of Chang K'ien in or about B.C. 115; but there is no record of what they did or saw, except the statement that they brought native return missions back with them to China. One thing is quite certain: the *Shi-ki*, or first great Chinese history, published about B.C. 90 (recently translated word for word by Professor Edouard Chavannes), makes no mention whatever of Buddha or Buddhism; and it is distinctly stated therein that Chang K'ien never went to India.

How, then, did Fu Ngî, 150 years later, in suggesting "Buddhism," happen to know anything about it? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to mention Pan Ku,

the author (died A.D. 92) of the second great historical work, the History of the Earlier Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A.D. 24), which takes us down over a century later than the *Shi-ki*. In the special chapter of the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) History, devoted to Fu Ngi, it is stated that the son and grandson, successors in turn of the Emperor who had first heard the name Budh from that officer, appointed Fu Ngi, in association with Pan Ku, to make various researches into literature, and later on to undertake certain military duties (A.D. 89). Now, this Pan Ku was, as we have seen, under the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220), the author of the Early Han History (B.C. 206 to A.D. 24); and his brother, Pan Ch'ao, was the celebrated General who, when a student, "threw down his pen, and vowed he would emulate Chang K'ien with his sword." Between A.D. 77 and 101, Pan Ch'ao re-established for the Later Han Dynasty the waning influence of China created in Central Asia by the Early Han Dynasty. His conquests brought him at least twice into actual collision with the Yüeh-chi (or earlier Ephthalites, who had now driven Greek and Parthian influence entirely out of the Indo-Pamir region). With them he fought several keenly-contested battles in order to secure exclusive Chinese influence over those states, east of the Pamir, which correspond with modern Kashgar, Yarkand, and Kuche, and to keep the Yüeh-chi well west of the Pamir. But Pan Ku has even less to say about India than Sz-ma Ts'ien, the author of the *Shi-ki*, or first great history, already alluded to above. Under the name of T'ien-tuh, it is only casually mentioned as lying to the south of a State called P'i-shan, which, from the positions given, cannot be far from the Karakoram Pass or Baltistan. He never so much as mentions Buddha or Buddhism.

We have seen that the Indo-Persian states sent return missions to China in the wake of Chang K'ien's agents of B.C. 115, and (although after that date Chinese arms made themselves felt rather in the Caspian than the Pamir region) there can be little doubt that the three roads to the West

(*vid* Hami, Kuche, and Khoten respectively) were kept open in sections by the traders interested, if not continuously by the Government. Hence it is extremely probable that intelligent Chinese occasionally went to the Indus, and that intelligent Indo-Scyths occasionally came to China. This likelihood is strengthened by the following important official statement. It appears that the first history of the Wei Dynasty (220-265), which succeeded the Later Han, was published before the history of the Later Han Dynasty (25-220) which that Wei Dynasty thus succeeded. This said first Wei history is called the *Wei Lioh*, or "Outline of Wei." Unfortunately for science, it has perished, for in it are to be found by far the greatest number of novel statements about the Far West, the source of which must necessarily have been the Han archives. Such fragments of it as remain exist only in the form of notes to other histories; one of these, the *Wei Chü*, or "Wei Records," being the standard history of the self-same Wei Dynasty. This second Wei History also was published 150 years before the Later Han History, and therefore it is entitled to a certain precedence over the latter, although the latter treats of an earlier period. But it must be remembered that histories, no matter when composed, are in China made up of records which were stored up safely somewhere during the period subsequently described; and though there are several cases where such records have been deliberately destroyed, there do not seem to be any instances where records have been invented on a wholesale scale, or unnecessarily supplemented from secondary sources.

Well, this *Wei Lioh* contains the following very remarkable statement (Chapter XXX., p. 29, of the *Wei Chü*): "The Lin-êrh country's Fou-t'u *sûtra* says that the King of that state had one Fou-t'u born to him. Fou-t'u was his heir. His father was called Sieh-t'ou-ya (S'uddhâ-dana); his mother Mâyâ. . . . In T'ien-chuh there also was a divine man named Sha-lüh. In past times, in the first year of the [Early] Han Emperor Ai's period Yüan-shou (B.C. 2), the

official scholar King-Lu received by oral transmission from I-ts'un, sent by the King of Great Yüeh-chi, the following from the Fou-t'u *sūtra*: 'He who shall be set up again, that is that man.'

Sinologists, or "doctors in Chinese," of course differ as to what this enigmatical passage, suggestive of a Messiah of some sort, actually means. Was the divine man Sha-lüh in any way connected with the words that follow? Who was he? Did the King of Great Yüeh-chi send an envoy to China, or did he send a messenger to King-Lu when the latter was in Bactria? Or might the words I-ts'un (meaning "him" and "to keep") *not* be a personal name; might it not rather be that King-Lu received from the King, who caused him to keep them in his memory from dictation, these mystic words? None of these refinements, however, touch the main facts, which are (1) that in B.C. 2 the King (who, from the date given, must have been Kadphises) was the moving agent, and King-Lu was the passive agent in conveying certain words; and (2) that the *sūtras* from Lin-êrh country are the sole authority for the story. I may mention that Lin-p'i (not Lin-êrh) is the way a later commentator upon the *Shi-ki* writes the word, and there is some reason to surmise that both may be mistakes for K'a-p'i, or Kapilavastu. To judge of this, it is, of course, necessary to scan the Chinese character forms. Moreover, King-Lu is called Ts'in King-hien in the Toba History, and the characters *hien*, *lu* might easily be confounded. Finally, the *Sui Shu* says: "Ts'in King caused I-ts'un to communicate by word of mouth the Fou-t'u *sūtra*. China, on hearing of it, did not believe."

But, apart from the obscurities of the text itself, *which no longer exists in original*, it must be pointed out that neither Buddha nor *sūtras* had been officially heard of when the Emperor's dream took place. It is not impossible that Fu Ngi, in A.D. 62, based his interpretation of the dream upon documents, dated B.C. 2, which later on also furnished a basis for the *Wei Lioh* statement in

A.D. 265; but that is a mere assumption. So far as I can see, there is absolutely no ground for believing that Buddhism ever, in any form, gained the Chinese ear before A.D. 62, except in so far as Fu Ngi *may* at that date have, in his literary researches, come across statements *like the above*, which in or about A.D. 265 found their way, as we see, into the *Wei Lioh*.

The Toba History (sixth century) alludes to another matter which has caused some Chinese, and *à fortiori* many Europeans, to suppose that Buddhism had made its way to China long before A.D. 62, simply because the Toba History says of it: "This would appear to be the first drifting in of the Buddhist principles." When the Chinese Emperor and Chang K'ien were, as is repeatedly stated *for the first time*, discovering the existence of a road to the West, the territory of one of the Hiung-nu Princes (corresponding to the present Liang-chou region, north-east of Kokonor) was (B.C. 121) incorporated with China. The Hiung-nu Prince was killed, and the "gold man" he was said by some to have used in the worship of Heaven was brought to the palace and placed with images of other notables; "but it was not worshipped with sacrifice; only incense was burnt before it, and obeisance made." The Prince's son was taken captive with his mother and employed as a horse-boy, and, having attracted the Emperor's favourable attention, subsequently received the family name of "Gold," from the fact of the gold man having belonged to his father. When his mother died, the Emperor had her portrait placed in the palace, too, and inscribed it "the Queen of . . ." These facts are clearly related in the *Shi-ki* and *Han Shu* without suggestion of Buddha. (See also note at the end.)

Of course, as the Hiung-nu Prince of Hiu-t'u (or, more correctly, Hou-ch'u) in question (whose ancestor appears to have been moved by the Emperor from modern Shen Si farther to the north-west immediately after the first Chinese conquests over the Hiung-nu in B.C. 214) lived immediately contiguous to the territory originally occupied by the

Yüeh-chi (who were driven by the Hiung-nu to the Oxus in or about B.C. 165), it is possible to imagine that relations between the Hiung-nu and the Yüeh-chi were never entirely severed; but as the Greek King "Milanda," or Menander of Bactria, B.C. 120-95 (who is supposed to have been one of the earliest converts to Buddhism in those parts), was only just being driven out of Bactria by the Yüeh-chi or Kushans when China, thousands of miles farther east, captured the golden man, it is rather a strong assumption to make that the Hindoos converted the Greeks, the Greeks were ejected by the Kushans, and the easternmost Hiung-nu were converted by the westernmost Kushans, over a desert space of about 3,000 miles, too; and all this within a couple of years. The *Sui Shu* simply says: "Before Han times Buddhism had not been bruited in China. Some say it had spread long before, and had been obliterated during the events of the Ts'in period (B.C. 221-207)."

There is a foolish story, mentioned on doubtful Chinese authority by European writers, of certain ascetics from the West, armed with books and opinions, having come to the kingdom of Ts'in in B.C. 250; but as the King of Ts'in, on conquering China, proceeded to bury nearly all the books and nearly all the talking or writing men in a big hole (B.C. 213), these hypermythical Buddhists, even if it can be supposed they came before the first "passage to the West was bored" at all by Chang K'ien, were most certainly tumbled along with their sermons into the King of Ts'in's famous holocaust, and must have "pulled the hole in" after them. The Toba History even goes out of its way to say that the celebrated scholar Liu Hin (employed about B.C. 20 to recover as much as possible of the destroyed literature) makes no mention whatever of Buddhism. It is probably to these yarns that the "some say" of the *Sui Shu* refers. We might equally well maintain that Scotchmen were probably known in China then; for the Gauls must have captured many Britons, and the Romans may have taken them from the Gauls, passed them on as slaves to Alexander,



who of course lost them to Darius, who lent them to Bessus, who sold them to the Scythians, who traded them off to China, etc., etc. The main difference between "civilized" men and savages is that the first-named alone *record* facts necessarily common to both: in the same way the main difference between recorded facts and speculative nonsense is that the first only can be established by evidence, either scientific or written.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now, having cleared away rubbish, we go back to our dream. The Emperor of China, on hearing of Buddhism for the first time, in A.D. 62, at once equipped a mission to go to India. Unfortunately, we have no details concerning the route followed; but we may safely conclude that it was the most southerly of the three—*i.e.*, *viâ* Khoten and Yarkand. Between the fall of the Early and the full rise of the Later Han—say A.D. 1 to 40—the Little Bucharía States, with the exception of So-kü (Yarkand), had all fallen back into Hiung-nu hands, until Khoten in turn succeeded in conquering Yarkand, and in creating a great, if ephemeral, empire, extending from the Pamirs right up to Kokonor. Until Pan Ch'ao's conquests (75-95), which never overstepped the present bounds of China, the Emperor's envoys to India must have sought protection from Khoten and Yarkand. Be that as it may, in two or three years the three emissaries returned from their travels with a huge standing image of Buddha and forty-two chapters of *sûtras*. They were accompanied by two Hindoos named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga and (in unrecognisable Chinese dress) Chuh-fah-lan. As their most valuable baggage was packed on a very conspicuous white horse, the improvised monastery which was set apart by the Emperor for their accommodation was called the White Horse Monastery. This was at the new or Later Han capital of China, Loh-yang, the modern Ho-nan Fu. The two Indians set to work vigorously to learn Chinese and make translations. As the Toba History says: "These

were the first *sramana* to come to China, and this was the first introduction of the kneeling worship."

It is to be noted that one of the three Chinese emissaries in A.D. 62 was named Ts'in King, which is exactly the same as one, two-thirds the same as the second, and half the same as the third of the three conflicting names given to the man who in B.C. 2 had received a mysterious communication from Kadphises. This uncomfortable coincidence throws further doubt upon the genuineness of the latter story, and makes us suspect that these two Indian *sramana*, whilst translating in A.D. 67, first drew their Chinese colleagues' attention to a statement about China found in a Kapilavastu *sūtra*, and that this statement has in some way got mutilated and misdated in its passage into Chinese. The Toba History, however, evidently accepts the B.C. 2 anecdote as true, for, whilst Père Hoang contents himself with saying of it, "This was the first thing China heard of the Buddhist teaching, and the first of *sūtras* and images," the Toba History states (query, on what authority, though manifestly probable), "but China, in hearing of it, *had not yet believed* in it." The *Sui Shu* repeats the second of these remarks only.

No sooner had the cart-load of books arrived than the Emperor's favourite brother, the Prince of Ts'u, became a convert. The chapter devoted to his life describes him as a young man who was as fond in youth of conviviality as in later years he was of Taoist and Buddhist exercises; of prayers, fastings, etc. Thus Taoism, the oldest Chinese philosophy, after being first degraded by alchemy, and then to a large extent superseded by Confucianism, had now, together with its successful rival, to contend with a third aspirant in the shape of Buddhism. At first the Emperor, though aware of them, took no serious view of his brother's antics; but after a few years there were politico-social troubles in which some ill-defined superstitious or religious imprudences of Prince Ts'u were involved, and the result was that he committed suicide (A.D. 71). This misfortune had the indirect effect of discrediting Buddhism at the very

outset. The circumstances of it have been considerably misapprehended, both as to facts and dates, by Chinese as well as European authors, who have first of all confused Fu Ngi with Prince Ts'u; and, secondly, the Emperor Ming with his successor, the Emperor Chang. Even the Toba History has a few mistakes, which the *Sui Shu* has evidently copied. The above is, I believe, the correct version.

For nearly a century after the discovery and rapid collapse of Buddhism, which were all comprised within a period of ten years, nothing more was heard of it officially; nor did the very few Chinese dealings with the south-road states extend south beyond Khoten and Sarikol. According to a statement by Dr. Eitel, the Amitâ-bha *sûtra* was brought to China in A.D. 147 from the "headquarters of the Tochari Tartars," by which he means the Great Yüeh-chi. In A.D. 147 the Emperor Hwan ascended the throne: besides being an excellent musician, this monarch discovered a predilection for the mysteries of both Buddhism and Taoism. This latter philosophy had already been so sadly adulterated with alchemistic charlatanism as to have become unrecognisable, and it had just been reconstituted by the first of the Taoist "Popes." It is stated in the Later Han History that this Emperor Hwan constructed sheds or covered platforms for Fou-t'u worship; and the *Sui Shu* states that an An-sih (Parthian) *sramana*, named An-tsing, brought some *sûtras* to Loh-yang, where he translated them very well; but I can find no evidence that any other foreign priests came to China, as stated by Père Hoang and the late Mr. T. Watters. *Missions* from India (T'ien-chuh) are, however, recorded in 159 and 161. It is added that they came *viâ* Indo-China; that India traded with Ta-ts'in (part of the Roman Empire); and that in 166 An-tun (Antoninus), King of Ta-ts'in, also sent a mission *viâ* Indo-China. The inference is therefore rather strong that there were not many such priests, for a statesman named Siang Kiai is represented in the Toba History as having explained to the Han Emperor that the principles of Foh-t'o (a new way of spelling, equivalent to

Vut-dha) and Lao-tsz inculcated the sparing of life, the extinction of extravagance and passion, etc. If Western priests had been there in force, these explanations, not to say the mention of Lao-tsz, would have been out of place.

The *Sui Shu* says that during the reign of the next Emperor, Ling (167-189), a Yüeh-chi (Kushan) *sramana* named Chi Ts'ien, and a T'ien-chuh (Hindoo) *sramana* named Chuh Foh-lang, translated some *sūtras*, the former's translation of the Nirvāna being particularly good.

During the reign of the last monarch of this Later Han Dynasty (189-220), the Empire was in process of dissolution and division. Père Hoang states that Ts'oh Yung, a Governor or Prefect of the modern Yang-chou Fu region (opposite the treaty "port" of Chinkiang), about this time constructed there a magnificent Fou-t'u monastery, equipped with images, vestments, and all the paraphernalia of services. The *sūtras* were recited, and it is asserted that over 5,000 families were converted. No authority is given for this important statement; but, as Père Hoang's career has been spent in those parts, I have no doubt he has found it in the local annals. It is almost certain that the following statement from the *Sui Shu* must refer to the same event: "At the close of the Han Dynasty, a Prefect named Chuh Yung also showed reverence for the law of Buddha." I am disposed to think that the founder of the southern kingdom of Wu, who was a strong Buddhist, was already in practically independent possession of the Lower Yangtsze Valley. I find a statement in a work of the eleventh century, published by a Buddhist priest named Hwei-hung, to the effect that An-shi-kao, the son of the King of Parthia, and a priest to boot, came to China between 185 and 190 A.D. This may possibly be the same man as An Tsing, who, as we have seen, came in the Emperor Hwan's reign (146-167). Probably these events have something to do with the otherwise unsupported statement of Mr. Watters, that between the years 168 and 190 "more monks arrived from the country of the Getæ

(Viddhal) and from India, and translated the Nirvâna and other *sûtras* with great fidelity." By "Getæ (Viddhal)" Mr. Watters, of course, means our old friends the Yüeh-chi—i.e., the Kushans, or Ephthalites.

China was now for half a century divided into three rival empires, which may be roughly described as that of the Yellow River Valley and all north of it, that of the Yangtze Valley and all south of it, and that of the Yangtze gorges and all west of them. The first of these empires was called Wei, that being the ancient name of its central tract; the second Wu, for the same reason; the third Shuh, the ancient name of the rich River Min plains in Sz Ch'wan. It was under the first real Emperor of the Wei Dynasty at Loh-yang that Chinese were first allowed to shave the head and become "bonzes" (this word itself, apparently, a corruption, through the Japanese *bo-dzu*, of the Chinese words *Fou-t'u*). A foreign *sramana* is stated to have successfully remonstrated when the first Emperor (220-226) wished to destroy a pagoda near the palace. (It is to be noted that the word *Foh-t'u* (= *Vut-dh*) is extended to include the ideas "priest" and "pagoda.") An Indian *sramana*, whose name in its Chinese dress seems to stand for (?) Dharmakagara, translated the Book of Disciplines, "which," says the Toba account, "is the first we hear of disciplines in China." The old White Horse Monastery was completely rebuilt and redecorated "in old Hindoo style" (with pagodas in uneven numbers of storeys, from one to nine), models of which were sent to other places: the people called them *fou-t'u* or *foh-t'u*. "In Han times the *sramana* had all worn red clothing; now it was changed to mixed colours." It is to be noticed that in the *res gestae* chapters of the *Wei Chi* it is stated, under the year 229, that the King of the Great Yüeh-chi, whose name in its Chinese form is Po-t'iao, sent envoys to the new Wei Empire, and received the title of "Wei-King of Great Yüeh-chi." In the same year, it is stated in another place, interpreters with presents of asbestos cloth came from the Western Regions. It is to

be explained that the exact characters expressing the two Chinese sounds *Po-t'iao* are employed in Eitel's "Buddhist Vocabulary" to stand for *Va* and *dêva*. It also appears, from M. Drouin's list of Kushan Kings, that there was a monarch named Bazadeo, or Vasudêva, between 132 and 176, and then occur the words "(troi rois de ce nom ?)" The evidence is thus inconclusive. But in 222 the Wei Dynasty re-established the Proconsulate, or Chinese Supervisory Residency; and it is remarkable that states corresponding to the modern Khoten, Kuche, Harashar, and Lob Nor, all sent envoys *at this time only*, and not for fifty years either before or after that time; hence it is plain that China only made a short political "spurt" of a few years' duration in the nearer West. We are now, accordingly, fully prepared for the following interesting passage from the *Sui Shu*: "Now, the *sramana* from the Western Regions who had come hither and translated the Lesser Category *sûtras* had done so without proper sequence, so that they were not thoroughly comprehensible. During the period *Kan-lu* (256-260), a semi-official traveller named Chu Shī went to the Western Regions, and, reaching Yü-t'ien state (Khoten), he obtained ninety chapters of *sûtras*. During the period Yüan-k'ang (A.D. 300) of the Tsin Dynasty [which succeeded the Wei at Loh-yang in 265], he arrived back at Yeh [a Tartar capital, the modern Chang-têh Fu], and translated them with the title of 'Light-giving *Pradjñâ sūtra*.'"

As to the Southern Empire, the *Sui Shu* simply remarks of the first actual Emperor (229-252) that a *sramana* named K'ang Sêng-hwei, from the Western Regions, brought some Buddhist *sûtras* to Wu and translated them. Sun K'üan, the "dominus" of Wu, had the greatest respect for, and confidence in, him. The *Wu Chi*, or History of Wu, states that in 239 some asbestos cloth was brought from the Western Regions, so that probably this priest brought it. The last Emperor of Wu is stated by Père Hoang to have ordered the destruction of all Buddhist buildings; but neither the Toba History nor the *Sui Shu*

mentions this. Just as the ancient Chinese improvise for Hindoo bonzes a family name *Chuh* out of the second syllable of T'ien-chuh, and the ancient and modern Chinese improvise a family name out of Sêng (*i.e.*, *saṃgha*) for all priests who "leave their family," so it is probable that the "*saṃgha* Hwei" came from K'ang or K'ang-kü (Samarcand region). The word *fah*, "law" (in such words as Chuh Fah-lan, Chuh Fah-hu, etc.), simply translates the first part of the Hindoo's name (*e.g.*, *Dharmagupta*), instead of transcribing it.

The breaking up by China, first of the Hiung-nu, and then of their successors in nomad empire the Sien-pi, had been followed, as we have seen, by the break-up of China herself. The Wei Dynasty of Toba were, in fact, themselves civilized Sien-pi; the Theodorics and Alarics of China. But the Toba Wei (386-580) must not be confused with the Chinese Wei (220-265). Towards the end of the third century, a successful Wei General, a pure Chinese, named Sz-ma Yen, inheriting the *maire-du-palais* position created by his grandfather, father, and uncle, at last deposed the *fainéant* Wei monarch, and proceeded to conquer the other two empires; thus reuniting China. Meanwhile all these intestine troubles had given fatal opportunities to the various Tartar and Tibetan adventurers hanging around the north frontiers, and for over a century the new Tsin Dynasty of the Sz-ma family had to struggle with a motley succession of rough Cæsars, each putting forth rival claims to be a northern Augustus. This transition period was the busiest and most successful for Buddhism in the history of China.

According to the *Sui Shu*, there arrived in Loh-yang during the period T'ai-shi (265-275) a Yüeh-chi *sramana* named Chuh Fah-hu, who had wandered extensively over the various western States, and had made a huge "bag" of *sûtras*. He translated a great many volumes, "and it was from this date that the Buddhist teaching spread extensively eastwards." There were forty-two *foh-t'u* (pagodas) in Loh-yang when the Sz-ma family of rulers had settled down there. During the period 291-300, a "Hu" (Tartar) *sramana*

named Chī-kung translated three volumes (described in the Toba History as the Buddha, the Vimala, and the Sad-dharma *sūtras*), and it seems to be stated that he did fairly good work in making clear certain obscurities, but failed on the whole. It is to be noticed that with this Tsin Dynasty (Ta Tsin, or "Great Tsin," which through the Buddhist translation *Maha-Tshina* first gave the name "China" to Western languages, and must on no account be confused with Ta-ts'in, or "Rome") began the first relations with Lin-yih (Ciampa) and Fu-nam (Angkor), both states founded by Hindoo colonists in Cochin-China. T'ien-chuh (or India) now again sends to China by sea (357), and it was doubtless during this half-century that the Hindoo trading expeditions persistently carried to China the "glad tidings" by the sea-route. In 317 the Tsin Dynasty was so hard pressed by the Tartars that it had to cross the Yang-tsze and establish its capital at the modern Nanking: the Emperors who reigned there in 326-342, 371-372, and 373-396 were all admirers of Buddhism; more especially the last one, who had a *vihāra*, or private chapel, erected inside his palace, with a staff of priests to serve it. Père Hoang says the Minister Wang Ya remonstrated with the Emperor about these doings; but I do not find any such statement in the chapter of the Tsin History (compiled in the seventh century) devoted to that statesman. Père Hoang is also the sole authority I can find for the assertion that the last Emperor of the Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 419) constructed an enormous golden image of Buddha, and himself escorted it for a distance of over three miles to its resting-place in a monastery. In the chapter devoted to the life of a "Cardinal Wolsey" named Wang Kung, a relative of one of the Empresses, it is stated that he incurred great unpopularity about this time by forcing the people to work at constructing gorgeous monasteries; and that when he himself was executed by his enemies, he walked calmly to the place of execution, stroking his beard and chaunting *sūtras*. He said to his executioners: "My mistake has been in placing



too much trust in men, which brings me to this pass. But my motives have always been loyal to my King; all I know is that future generations will never forget the name of Wang Kung." It is pleasant for me now to be the agent in proving that he spoke truth, and I am inclined to think it possible that somehow or other Père Hoang has confused the last Emperor Kung with Wang Kung (written with the same Chinese character).

Whilst Buddhism was thus making its way in South China, apparently by sea as well as by land, the rough Tartars in the north were giving it a very hearty reception. The "Wether" Hun adventurer Shih Léh (a soldier of fortune serving a Hiung-nu "Emperor" who claimed imperial status under ancient marriage connections with China) gave a very warm welcome to a Chinese *sramana*, named Wei Tao-an, hailing from modern Chêh Kiang province (319-330). This man discovered an unusual aptitude for Buddhistic learning, and made great efforts to ascertain the exact meaning of many *sûtras* which had so far been but imperfectly translated. As the *Sui Shu* specially mentions the imperfect translations of the "Hu" *sêng* (= Tartar bonze) who put the *Vimala* and *Saddharma* into Chinese, it would seem that this individual must be the same as the Chî-kung above mentioned (291-300). The *Sui Shu* says: "As China was now in a complete state of anarchy, and intercommunications were difficult, Wei Tao-an, with his band of disciples, took a trip south to Sin-ye [modern Nan-yang in Ho Nan], and endeavoured to spread the doctrines of Buddha far and wide. He sent his disciple Fah-sing [a translation of *Dharmâkara*] to Yang-chou, and Fah-ho to Shuh [Sz Ch'wan]. Tao-an himself, with Hwei-yüan [*Hwei* is a translation of *Pradjñâ*], went first to Siang-yang [on the river Han], and then to Ch'ang-an, where he was received with great respect by Fu Kien [357-385, a Tibetan "Emperor" at modern Si-an Fu]."

But we must go back a little. It appears that, before Wei Tao-an started upon his travels, he had met at Yeh

(Chang-têh Fu, the "Wether" Hun capital) the distinguished T'ien-chuh (Indian) *sramana* Buddhôchinga, who was very much struck with the aptitude of the Chinese bonze. The history of Buddhôchinga is as follows: When young, he became a disciple and entered the "Church" in Udjâna State (the modern Swat). He reached Loh-yang in the year 310, and was with the Hiung-nu "Emperor" Liu Yao (318-329) at Siang-kwoh (his capital, north of Chang-têh Fu). Afterwards Shih Lêh (who killed his patron Liu Yao), made a great deal of him, and spared him from the general massacre of priests and others: he styled him Ta Ho-shang (=the Great Upadhyâya). He was consulted on all state affairs, and with great tact managed to elude Shih Lêh's violent outbursts. In 334 Shih Lêh was succeeded by his able kinsman Shih Hu, better known as Shih Ki-lung, who paid Buddhôchinga even greater honours. Some Chinese statesmen, Wang Tu among them, expostulated: "Buddha is a foreign god, and not of the kind to be worshipped by the Son of Heaven; it is proposed that all high officers of state be forbidden to burn incense and worship at the temples; moreover, that all subjects of Chao [*i.e.*, the "Wether" Hun Empire] who have become *sramana* be ordered to unfrock." The fierce Tartar issued the following manly decree: "I am myself of outlandish origin, and, having now become Autocrat of All the Chinas, may be well permitted to follow my own customs in matters of religion. I hereby authorize all persons, be they barbarians or men of Chao, to worship Buddha if they choose."

Fu Kien, who welcomed Wei Tao-an to his Court as a kind of Elisha, successor to the Elijah Buddhôchinga, was a Tibetan of the *Ti* branch, and in a sort of way may be said to have politically represented the now extinct "Wether" Hun power, too. When Wei Tao-an was at his Court, he heard that there was in the Western Regions a very distinguished Buddhist named Kumâradjîva. Being most anxious to compare religious notes with this personage, he used his influence

over the rough Tibetan to procure the sage's presence at Ch'ang-an. Kumâradjîva was of Indian origin, his father having been hereditary Premier in some Hindoo state—Eitel says Takchas'ilâ, the Greek Taxila. The father resigned his expectant rights, and set out "eastwards across the Onion Range" (and therefore from the Kashmir region). Arriving at Kut-tsui or Kû-ts'z (the modern Kuche, between Kashgar and Harashar), the King of that place forced a wife upon him, and Kumâradjîva was born to the pair. The latter at the age of twelve went with his mother to Sha-lêh State (Kashgar) for a year, but at twenty he returned to Kuche, his mother, however, travelling to India. Fu Kien, having sent his General Lü Kwang to attack and take Kuche, said: "And get hold of Kumâradjîva if you can." Lü Kwang did so, and forced a wife upon Kumâradjîva. Meanwhile the *Ti* Tibetan Dynasty of the Fu family came to an end, and was replaced by one bearing the patronymic Yao, of the *Kiang* Tibetan family; Lü Kwang and his son founded an independent state at Tun-hwang (Marco Polo's Sacciur), and Kumâradjîva remained there until the Tibetan Dynasty conquered that place, on which he received the title of "National Instructor" (about A.D. 400). He often exchanged compliments from a distance with Wei Tao-an, but it was not until twenty years after the death of the latter that Kumâradjîva reached Ch'ang-an (A.D. 401). To his keen sorrow he found his old correspondent was long ago dead, but he had the satisfaction of comparing notes, and ascertaining that his own views and those of Wei Tao-an upon certain obscure interpretations were absolutely identical, "in consequence of which the true meaning of the Buddhist law was made abundantly clear all over China." Here for the present we drop the matter.

NOTE TO PAGE 378.—Under the date A.D. 550, the compressed history known as the *Kang Kien*, in stating that a usurping Tartar Emperor of China "cast a successful image," explains that, "by Toba custom, whenever an Empress or an heir-apparent was proposed, a golden image of the subject had to be cast, according to the success or failure of which, the person was acclaimed or rejected."

## SIAM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA.

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES).

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

## PECULIAR VIRTUES ASCRIBED TO SWANKHALÔK WARES.\*

THE next important point to which I wish to draw attention is the high estimation in which old Swankhalôk wares, especially those of the crackled fish-spawn pattern, are held throughout the country, both on account of their antiquity and of certain properties they are alleged to possess. One of the characteristic virtues claimed for them is that cooked rice may be kept in them for a longer time than in any other kind of vessels without turning sour. This antiseptic property is probably due to some peculiar ingredients composing the enamel of those vessels, which it would be interesting to ascertain. Medicinal virtues are, in a similar way, ascribed by the Dyaks of Borneo to certain glazed jars which they term *blanga* or *balanga*, anciently imported from China and highly prized (from £8 to as much as £240 each). These are green, blue, or brown, ornamented with figures of lizards and serpents in relief. Water is kept in them by the chiefs, which is sold to the tribe, and valued on account of the virtues it is supposed to possess, and which it derives from the jar that has contained it. Such porcelain jars are used besides for keeping the remains of the dead. They are also regarded as affording complete protection from evil spirits to the house in which they are stored; hence the craze among the Dyaks for procuring such class of china vessels, and the high veneration they pay to them.† It would be worth the trouble to inquire whether similar notions are entertained in China in respect of certain descriptions of porcelain in order to be able to decide whether the Siamese and Dyak ideas on the subject originated locally and quite independently, or are both traceable to a common Chinese source. As regards Siām it should be observed that no properties like those referred to are ascribed to other classes of crockery of either local or foreign make. Although similar wares were manufactured on a somewhat extensive scale at old Sukhôtai,‡ and much superior ones in quality—imitated from Siamese models—were imported in more recent times from China, it is always the ancient Swankhalôk products which are the more esteemed and eagerly sought for, and fetch the higher prices. This does not, of course, in any way imply that pottery of the best Chinese make and genuinely

\* For preceding portion see issue of April last.

† See Carl Bock's "Headhunters of Borneo," p. 197 *seq.*; and Dr. Hirth, in *op. cit.*, p. 176 *et seq.*

‡ Remains of kilns may still be noticed a short distance outside of the north-western gate of that town, along the edge of the cart-trail leading from it to *Wat-Si-c'hum*.

Chinese design, especially the classical old porcelains of Chinese production, are not appreciated. These are and have been, on the contrary, ever highly valued, and imported in large quantities into the country; but, I repeat, no peculiar virtues are attributed to them as in the case of the Swankhalôk vessels. Such being the facts, it seems very strange that the Swankhalôk wares should have escaped the attention of all writers on Siām, especially of the most careful ones of the seventeenth century, the period when pottery of local make must have been very common. Probably they confounded it with the Chinese imported article, although some passages occurring in their publications seem to implicitly allude to crockery of indigenous manufacture. La Loubère says:\* "Their [the Siānese] vessels are either of porcelane or potter's clay, with some vessels of copper. . . . They use a great deal of porcelane, because they have some very coarse and very cheap. . . . Porcelane is more common at his [the King's] table than gold or silver." The first two of these passages appear to refer to articles of native make. In the lists—given at the end of Chaumont's work†—of the presents sent by Siām to the French Court, many entries are made concerning porcelain, with at times a mention of the provenance, from either China or Japan, and at times no allusion at all to the place of origin. In one instance (p. 239) a lot of from 1500 to 1550 pieces is described under the vague and generic title of "porcelaines des plus belles" and "des plus curieuses de toutes les Indes." It is therefore legitimate to infer that, in most of these cases where no specification occurs of the place of manufacture, locally made articles are chiefly implied. If Swankhalôk, Sukhōthai, and other local centres of ceramic production are not recorded in the lists as the places of origin of many of those wares, it is because their names had hardly ever been heard of by Chaumont and his Western contemporaries; for not only are they invariably omitted in their topographic descriptions of the country, but do not even find a place in the map of it drawn by Du Val immediately after the return to France of the Chaumont mission (A.D. 1686) upon information supplied by the members of the same, and published at the end of La Loubère's work and elsewhere.‡ On the other hand, in Chaumont's lists we come across the full entry "16 pièces de différentes sortes de terre de Patane," simply because Patani was then much better known on account of its flourishing foreign trade and advantageous position on the seaboard of the Malay Peninsula,§ than the far-away-inland and fast-declining Swankhalôk.

In so far as modern times are concerned, the inexcusable perversion by

\* "A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siām," London, 1693, pp. 34, 35, 166.

† "Ambassade de Siam," pp. 239, 242 *et seq.*

‡ "Carte du Royaume de Siam, etc., par P. Du Val, Geographe Ord<sup>re</sup> du Roy, dédiée à Monsieur le Chevalier de Chaumont," à Paris, chez I. Besson, 1686.

§ Patani earthenware seems to have enjoyed no inconsiderable reputation, for Hamilton ("New Account of the East Indies," London, 1744, vol. ii., p. 157) includes it, along with tiles, among the exports of that place. Vases made of a fragrant earth, and much valued throughout the East, appear to have been manufactured on the opposite side of the Malay Peninsula at or near Malacca, whence they were exported in

Pallegoix of the meaning of the passage from the "Northern Chronicles" already pointed out, has no doubt contributed in no small measure to radicate the idea amongst the Western public that nothing approaching to chinaware has ever been produced in Siām, this idea being further strengthened by the circumstance of modern pottery made upon Siāinese designs, or imitated from ancient native models having reached Europe, which was declared by experts to have been—as it was in fact—manufactured in China. Thence the sweeping inference was drawn that all the best kinds of ceramic wares to be found in Siām are of Chinese origin. On the other hand, inexperienced travellers, and foreign residents even of long standing, have eagerly gone on purchasing and carefully collecting specimens of this "Siāinese" pottery "made in China," in the innocent belief that it came from the Swankhalōk and other local renowned kilns. It is difficult to say at present when the imitation of the Swankhalōk and other ancient Siāinese crockery began in China. The wily and crafty Célestial, always bent on the pursuit of the vanishing dollar, or whatever was in earlier days the most popular type of currency which did duty for that now much-depreciated coin, must have started pretty soon to stock the Siāinese market with clever imitations of old Swankhalōk vases and pottery articles made after Siāinese designs and intended to suit the local taste, as he did in the case of the ancient porcelain jars so highly valued among the Dyaks of Borneo; but I should not think that much of these spurious articles were introduced into the country before the fall of Ayuthia (A.D. 1767), while the local kilns were still at work. On the other hand, after that date, the local production of genuine Siāinese crockery having ceased, and most of the old wares having become lost or been destroyed, considerable quantities of Chinese imitations began to flow in steadily, and some of them, as it is well known, were made to order and imported for the benefit of the wealthier classes themselves, in order to make up for the dearth of old specimens, and to perpetuate the pattern of the products of an art now forgotten, which would have otherwise become lost to the country for ever. New designs were also introduced, made after both the Siāinese and Chinese style; thus now we have all sorts of vessels, even jars of the square Chinese form, censers, cuspidors, flower-stands, etc., included under the denomination of Swankhalōk wares. This confusion is the reason why foreign non-adept amateurs were so readily taken in by the spurious articles. But local connoisseurs well know how to discriminate between what they term "Old Swankhalōk," that is, the genuine native wares, and "China Swankhalōk," that is, their China-made imitations. None of the foreigners residents know, perhaps, where to draw the line of distinction, whereas the Siāinese, who have for centuries been acquainted with their home-made pottery as well as with all the kinds, whether of similar or of genuinely Chinese products, turned out by the Chinese factories, readily know in most instances how to discriminate between them. In the case,

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large quantities. Ramusio (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 334 A) speaks of them as "molte sorti di vasi berrettini d' una sorte di terra odorifera, che per il suo odore si usan molto in queste parti, e sono à buon mercato."

however, of polychrome uncrackled wares it is often difficult to pronounce an opinion as to their real production. On the contrary, no misconception is possible in respect of the monochrome and fallow or flat white cracklings, the latter especially, as these do not appear to have ever been imitated in China and exported therefrom, the reason being, I think, that they were made at a period when local trade with the Celestial Empire had not as yet developed to such an extent as to permit of very frequent intercourse, and that their manufacture was afterwards discontinued in favour of new patterns and gaudy coloured products. I am on this account inclined to regard the white cracklings as the oldest specimens of the Swankhalôk crockery about whose genuineness there can be no question.

#### THE EARLIEST DATE OF SWANKHALÔK WARES.

Such being the case, it is interesting to notice that the style of glazing of these aged specimens furnishes us a clue as to the approximate earliest date at which their manufacture could have been begun in Siām, and consequently as to the approximate earliest date when King Rùang's alleged embassy to China could have taken place, always given that the tradition ascribing the introduction of the art of crockery-making into Siām under that potentate's reign is genuine, which I see no very serious reason for doubting. According, in fact, to the researches made by Dr. Hirth in Chinese ceramic literature,\* it appears that the use of porcelain earth for pottery purposes was unknown in China until about the end of the sixth century A.D., and that it only came into practice during the first quarter of the century next following. One of the passages he quotes to that effect is very explicit and instructive. It says: "In ancient times no vases were made of porcelain, and up to the T'ang dynasty [*i.e.*, the beginning of the seventh century] all such vessels were made of copper; it was not till then that pottery came into vogue."† Nor is this all. When we proceed to investigate the period at which crackled ware of a description—in so far as the style of glazing is concerned—similar to that of the ancient Swankhalôk specimens was first made in China, we find that this did not occur until the time of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1278), the earliest products in this line being the flat white old *Ko-yao* fish-spawn crackle, and the fallow white old *Kwan-yao* with long, irregular cracks of the so-called crab-claw pattern. Of these two styles of porcelain, it is only the latter that was commenced to be made during the Northern Sung period (A.D. 960-1127) at Pien-liang (the hodiern K'ai-fêng Fu in Honan), and subsequently to that in the southern capital, Hang-chou, whereas the manufacture of *Ko-yao*, as well as of the plain Lung-ch'üan celadons, was not begun until the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127-1278).‡ We thus see that the earliest date at which we can, upon such evidence, place the introduction of the art of crackled-ware manufacture into Siām is the eleventh century A.D., which corresponds to the period we have assigned,

\* *Op. cit.*, pp. 131, 132.

† *Ibid.*, p. 138.

‡ See Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 165, 166.

on the strength of other considerations, to King Rùang's reign and his alleged expedition to China. We shall have to find older specimens of Swankhalòk crockery ere we can place that date any further back. But such a discovery is not likely to be made. And at any rate the dates given in the old local chronicles for the establishment of a new era by King Rùang, viz., A.D. 456 and 638—which event was immediately followed by his journey to China—will once more prove to be absurd, for even in A.D. 638 the manufacture of glazed pottery had hardly commenced in China itself.

At that early period nothing like the hard white and comparatively fine-grained Swankhalòk crockery was ever made in Siām, although we are disposed to concede that unglazed earthenware may have been produced, this handicraft constituting one of the industries peculiar to the Moñ-Khmēr race at that time inhabiting the country. The Chinese envoys to Siām in A.D. 607 speak, it is true, only of metallic vessels and leaf-platters being then in use; but we may take it for granted that common earthenware was also made, as well as bricks and tiles, as evidenced by buildings belonging to that period and contemporary records.\* This was also more or less the state of the ceramic industry in neighbouring countries; the glazed earthenware of India (Madura, Sind, Panjāb), and of Burmā (Pegu jars, Bassein ornamental pottery work, etc.) undoubtedly belonging to a later period, and the art of glazing it being probably for the last-mentioned country introduced likewise from China—perhaps second-hand through Siām.

It will furthermore be seen from the foregoing remarks that the manufacture of the Swankhalòk crockery cannot properly be said, in origin at least, to have been a Siāmesé industry, because of its being carried on by Chinese and on entirely Chinese methods. It is very probable, however, that the painting of the polychrome specimens, produced at a later period, was done by Siāmesé artists, or, at any rate, from models or sketches supplied by the latter. It is also likely that the manufacture was in the course of time taken in hand by the Chino-Siamesé descendants of the inventors of the art, and carried on elsewhere with less success by the natives themselves, although there is no positive proof that such a fact occurred. Suffice it for the present to have shown that the Siāmesé tradition as to the introduction of the art of crockery manufacture into Siām from China during King Rùang's reign is reliable, so long as the dates for both that industrial event and that personage's advent on the world's scene are not placed further back than the eleventh century A.D.

\* In Kamboja primitive potteries modelled by hand were discovered among neolithic implements and bronze objects at the prehistoric station of Sòmrong-Sen. (See Moura's "Cambodge," pp. 145, 146.)



## C.—THE EMBASSY OF KING SUCHA OR VASUCHA.

(A.D. 1085 OR 1097 ?)

## KING RUAṄG'S SUCCESSOR.

King Aruṇavati Ruṅg had a son born to him by *Suca-devī*, the bride he had won from China, who was named *Suca-kumāra* after his mother. Some of the MS. copies of the chronicles, however, spell his name *Vasuca* and *Vasuddha*. This Prince succeeded to the throne after his father's death under the name of Sucha-rāj or Vasucha-rāj (*Suca-rāja*, *Vasuca-rāja*). This event must have occurred—as we have demonstrated—in either A.D. 1084 or 1096.

Immediately after the new ruler's accession the State of Swankhalōk was threatened with invasion at the hands of the King of C'hieng-sēn, or, according to Gervaise, of the Prince of Müang Hāng. Despairing of his ability to withstand the attack of the bellicose Lāu potentate, King Sucha applied to his maternal grandfather the Chinese Emperor for assistance in the construction of more deadly implements of warfare than those hitherto employed in Siām. The following is the account of the mission he despatched to the Chinese Court as given in the "Northern Chronicles":

## ROYAL LETTER SENT TO CHINA.

"King P'hasucha-rāj [*Vasuca-rāja*] handed a letter to the master of a junk who had come to trade in Siām, for the Emperor of China, his maternal grandfather, asking from him ten artisans skilled in casting cannon. The Chinese Emperor sent out the workmen in accordance with his nephew's request, and these reached Sajjanālai [Swankhalōk] within seven months from the time that the regal missive had been despatched."

## ADVENT OF CHINESE BRASS-FOUNDERS AND ENAMELLERS IN SIĀM.

"King P'hasucha-rāj forthwith directed them to cast 120 cannon and 500 matchlocks [!]. Since then there began to exist in the country artist founders in articles of *Samrit* [black-bronze]\* and *Thōm-pat* [enamelled

\* *Samrit*—from the Sanskrit *sanriddhi*, "success," "prosperity"—meaning the "perfect" or "auspicious" alloy, is a much-esteemed kind of bronze employed in the manufacture of vessels used in propitiatory ceremonies for the consecration of lustral water, and in the casting of other implements, and even statues of the different deities which it is desired to endow with particular virtues. It was largely made use of in the old days both in Siām and Kamboja. Pallegoix is perhaps the only authority of all writers on the two countries just referred to that has ever heard of this alloy and mentioned it. He speaks of it in the following terms ("Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," vol. i., p. 32): "Les Cambogiens ont le secret d'une composition métallique noire qu'ils appellent *sanrit*, à laquelle ils attribuent des qualités imaginaires; ils prétendent, par exemple, que dans un vase de cette matière, la chaux rouge qu'on mêche avec le bétel ne se dessèche jamais, que la surface de l'eau dans un bassin de *sanrit* est plus élevée au milieu qu'aux bords," etc. In this he is for once in the right, and although water contained in *sanrit* vessels does not exactly form a raised *meniscus* like quicksilver, as some natives pretend, it is a fact that, through some cause of molecular repulsion due to the metal of which the vase is composed, the water retracts all round from its borders. This explains also to some extent the longer time that the moist lime kept

metal].\* The King had companies of men posted at all points of vantage, and had them armed with the new weapons and well supplied with both gunpowder and ball. The projectiles were made of baked clay."

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF THAI SUPREMACY IN SOUTHERN SIAM.

The formidable weapons did apparently prove of some benefit, for, according to the chronicles, they terrified the besieging host—unprovided with such infernal engines—with their thunder-like discharges, and played

in such vessels takes to dry. As regards the mysterious composition of *samrit* bronze, this will no longer be a secret now that I have succeeded in discovering in an old black folding MS. book in Siamese, formerly belonging to the late King of Siam, the following receipt for its manufacture: "Take 12 ticals in weight of pure tin, smelt it at slow fire, avoiding bringing it to red heat. Pour in 2 ticals weight of quicksilver, stir until the latter has become thoroughly absorbed and amalgamated; then cast the mixture into a mould, forming it into a bar. Take 1 catty in weight (80 ticals) of refined copper and melt it. Then gradually incorporate with it the amalgam, keeping in the meantime the fused mass well stirred. When this has been done, throw into the crucible a sufficient quantity of ashes obtained from the stems of the *Bua-bok* ('terrestrial lotus') creeper, so as to cover the molten metal. Remove the recement with an iron ladle; the metal remaining is *samrit* bronze." According to this receipt, the percentual proportion of the ingredients employed in the manufacture of the alloy in question thus proves to be: 85.16 copper; 12.76 tin; and 2.13 quicksilver. It is said, however, that in the old days gold and other precious metals were at times added. Anyhow, it would be interesting to compare the above data with those of antique Chinese bronze, in order to see whether any correspondence exists between the two, and thus find out whether the above tradition is correct in tracing the origin of *samrit* to China. Of course, bronze has been known all over Indo-China since prehistoric times, as proved by the finds of Somrong-sen in Kamboja already noticed; but the proportion of the tin in Somrong-sen bronze implements (hatchets, arrowheads, fishing-hooks, rings, and plates) is much smaller than in *samrit*, not ranging above 4.2 per cent. (see Moura, *op. cit.*, p. 145). The *samrit* alloy, it will be noticed, does not differ much in composition from gun-metal, and though considerably hard, on account of the high percentage of tin, may be classed in that category, and may tolerably well answer the same purpose. Whether the quicksilver is added in order to increase the malleability of the alloy or to darken its colour is a question I gladly leave to experts to decide.

\* If fairly right on the subject of *samrit*, Pallegoix is completely at sea as regards *thôm-pat* wares. He, in fact, explains (*op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 68): "*Thomphat* [*sic*] ou *tombac*, alliage d'une partie d'or sur deux de cuivre [!].” The alloy he refers to is instead called *nāk*, and has nothing at all to do with *tombac*, and less still with *thôm-pat*, which is not an alloy, but the designation of a particular kind of enamelled wares imported to this day from China. These include mostly copper vessels in *cloisonné* or in niello work, two branches of the enamelling art in which the Chinese have long been proficient. Some successful work in this line is now being done also in Siam; but in the past the niello ware industry had attained a yet higher degree of perfection at Ligor, its products being to this day appreciated above all other local ones of the same category. They are known as *Khrūang-thôm Lakhōn*, i.e., enamelled wares of Ligor. But whether the niello industry was introduced there from China also, or from India, it is difficult to say. Although it is known that there has been a rather active intercourse between China and Ligor, I am for the latter alternative, because I believe that the influence of Indian arts, manners, and customs has, despite this fact, always been paramount in that State. As regards Northern Siam, however, it is more likely that the art of enamelling metal was really, as the tradition related above has it, imported from China.

havoc in its ranks. Yet the fact remains—although explained as due to the intervention of the venerable Buddhaghosācārya, the head-priest of the *Kháu Rang Rēng* or “Vulture-nest Peak” monastery on the outskirts of the city, who was anxious to avert further bloodshed and loss of life on both sides—that the Swankhalôk King came to peace terms with the enemy, and terminated the dispute by handing over to the hostile King his own daughter *Paḍuma-devī*. It was this *Belle Hélène*, it is explained, that had formed the bone of contention of that miniature Trojan war, for in a previous existence the C’hieng-sēn potentate had been her husband, and had performed meritorious work with her. The power of such deeds had now caused both of them to be reborn in neighbouring countries, and urged on their dissevered spirits to strive for reunion in their present existence; so that it was in order to regain his former life-companion that the hostile King had undertaken this expedition.

But this puerile yarn is, of course, spun out by the chroniclers with a view to palliate the crude fact that the Swankhalôk ruler was, despite all his terrible war-engines, hopelessly worsted—or at least driven to his wit’s end as regards holding out any longer against the enemy—and to account in some becoming manner for the making over of his daughter to his adversary. Nor was this all, for from the context of the following narrative one easily understands that the Swankhalôk King must have submitted and agreed to become a vassal of the C’hieng-sēn potentate, and that the latter must have conquered, besides Swankhalôk, the whole of Southern Siām down to the sea—all the territory, in a word, of the Sajjanālai-Sukhōthai State and something more besides. In fact, we are told that some time after the contention had been peacefully settled as above, the successful C’hieng-sēn Menelaos built P’hiṣṇulôk and other strongholds in order to enforce the occupation of the conquered territory, and that of the two sons who were born to him by the daughter of the Swankhalôk King he appointed the younger one to rule over P’hiṣṇulôk, and set up the elder as King of Lavô (Lop’hburī), obtaining for him the hand of a Swankhalôk Princess (*circa 1105-1120 A.D.*). These events have been already referred to in the preceding sections of this paper, and need not here any further comment beyond emphasizing the fact that they mark the date at which the first wave of the Thai race reached the outskirts of the Gulf of Siām.

#### THE ADVENT OF FIREARMS IN INDO-CHINA.

As regards firearms, this is the first time they are mentioned in Siāmes records; but their occurrence, if real—even in much more rudimental forms than those ascribed to them by the native chroniclers—in connection with the events above referred to, plainly demonstrates that the latter cannot have taken place at so early a period as the dates set forth in those records would fain make us to believe. The date itself we have arrived at, on the basis of other evidence, for the Lāu invasion and siege of Swankhalôk (from 1085 to 1097 A.D.) seems already too previous for the existence of

such improved agents of destruction; but how much more like an anachronism it would look were the advent of these implements of warfare placed, in blind reliance upon the "Northern Chronicles," still a few centuries further back. The most curious of it all is, however, the statement as to the weapons in question having been introduced into the country from China. The exhaustive inquiry which Mr. W. F. Mayers has held into the knowledge of gunpowder and firearms as possessed by the Chinese\* shows that, while gunpowder probably became known to this people—though to a partial extent only, and that from foreign sources (probably India)—in the sixth century A.D., no evidence exists of its use as an agent in warfare until about the middle of the twelfth century, nor was it employed at this period with any propulsive effect. Ballistæ which launched fire-balls appear to have been first constructed in China in A.D. 1127. But it was not until the reign of the Emperor Yung Lê, and on occasion of the invasion of Tonkin in A.D. 1407, that the Chinese acquired the knowledge of the propulsive effect of gunpowder, from their vanquished enemies.†

In India and Indo-China, on the contrary, firearms were known somewhat earlier, while the application in warfare of the explosive effects of gunpowder lays claim to a still greater antiquity. "Explosive powder either used for rejoicings as fireworks, or for discharging projectiles, was known in India from the earliest period, and its preparation was never forgotten."‡ An explosive engine appears to have been used against the army of the King of Kashmir in the eleventh century.§

In 1290, while besieging the fort of Rantambhor, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was

\* See *Journal, China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 6 (1869-70), p. 73 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 103. These reliable results of Mayers' very painstaking inquiry did not, however, prevent Dr. MacGowan from befooling us, in his "History of China" (Shanghai, 1897), with tales of "batteries of cannon" and "heavy guns" ever since the Mongol siege of K'ai-fêng Fu in A.D. 1232—in the same manner, indeed, as the facts brought forward in 1887 by Dr. Hirth against the invention of Chinese porcelain since the dawn of the Christian era (*vide supra*) did not deter Dr. Edkins from serving us up quite recently in the *China Review* (issue of October-November, 1900, p. 91) a *réchauffé* of Stanislaus Julien's antiquated and purely conjectural estimate dating that invention from B.C. 185 to A.D. 87. I shall, however, leave both of the well-known sinologists criticised here to the tender mercies of their own colleagues. Meanwhile here are some of the passages from MacGowan's History that seem open to serious criticism. "His [the Mongol general's] strongest batteries of cannon were pointed against them" (the walls of K'ai-fêng Fu, in A.D. 1232, p. 416); "the cannons thundered, and great stones flew into the city," (p. 417); "the heavy guns of the Mongols told fearfully on the ships of their enemy" (p. 429; date 1275), etc. Now, according to Mayers (*loc. cit.*, pp. 91, 92), these "cannons" and "heavy guns" were mere fire-spears and fire ballistæ; and the "large guns" spoken of by MacGowan (p. 427) as being employed at the siege of Fan-ch'êng (Hsiang-yang) in 1272-73 were, as Marco Polo, who was an eye-witness and had them made himself, says (ch. 146): "*trois biaux mangan*" (in the Italian text *mangani*—i.e., mangonels) throwing "*pierres de trois cens livres*." Evidently, the compilers of the Siamese account of the siege of Swankhalôk have at least one merit, and that is of having forestalled Dr. MacGowan in taking ballistæ for "thundering cannons" and booming "heavy guns."

‡ Oppert's "Weapons, Army Organization, etc., of the Ancient Hindus," p. 63.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

opposed by a "*maghrîbi*" or Western engine, which discharged stones and scattered fire from the fort.\* This engine, thinks Egerton, was probably a large catapult which hurled forth iron or copper balls, or pots charged with fire.† No direct evidence beyond the above exists, to my knowledge, of the use of firearms and the explosive effects of gunpowder in India before the fourteenth century.

In so far as Indo-China is concerned, no earlier reference to these agents of warfare has, I believe, been published as yet than the one occurring in Phayre's "*History of Burmah*" (p. 69), to the effect that in A.D., 1388, Bassein was defended against the King of Pegu's army by foreign decked boats armed with guns, probably of the kind known as "*jingals*" (metal tubes about 3 feet long, mounted on wooden stands, and throwing a ball generally less than one pound in weight). In view, therefore, of the dearth of information existing on this subject in European works, it is hoped that a few of the leading facts I have gleaned from the native records of these countries will prove of some interest.‡ In the old chronicles of Pegu I find petards or some kind of land-mines mentioned in A.D. 1293, as being employed by Tarābyā in an attempt he made on the life of Warēru, the King of Martaban.§ Firearms are not, however, alluded to until A.D. 1421, in connection with the siege of Syriam. As regards Southern Siām, we learn from the *Sejarah Malāyu* that the Siānese under Rāja Chulan fought—about 1260-1300 A.D., after my own rectified reckoning—against the Malays under Rāja Suran, in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, with bows, spears, lances, and swords.|| Their adversaries did likewise, and no firearms are so far mentioned. The first reference made to them in the annals of Ayuthia occurs under the date A.D. 1385-86, when it is stated that matchlocks were used by the Siānese in their siege of the Kambojan capital Nakhōn

\* Elliot's "*History of India*," vol. iii., p. 174, quoted in Egerton (*q.v. infra*). The event here alluded to must have occurred in A.D. 1300-1301, during which period the siege of Rantambhor lasted, and not in 1290 as stated. Rantambhor had been, indeed, invested another time prior to this, *i.e.*, in 1291, but by Firūz Shāh, and not by 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

† Egerton's "*Handbook of Indian Arms*," p. 18.

‡ For a fuller treatment of the subject of the introduction and early use of gunpowder and fire-arms in Siām and neighbouring countries, I refer those who can read Siānese in the native character to my publication in Siānese on "*The Art of War of the Ancient Hindūs*," etc., Bāngkōk, 1894, Chapter XV.

§ The passage is very explicit, and as it has not yet found a place in books on Burmā, owing to the native annals having been lost in Pegu, I think it worth while to give a verbatim translation of it here. It runs as follows: "The deposed King [of Pegu] Tarābyā was all the time meditating treason against King Varō [Warēru] of Martaban, who had deprived him of his kingdom and carried him off in captivity to Martaban. He had certain pyrotechnic contrivances made and fixed all around the city; and proposed, whenever King Varō would in great state circumambulate the capital, to have them set on fire, in order to destroy him." These pyrotechnic contrivances (literally, "fire-works") of the text were evidently apparatus of an explosive nature, either petards or land-mines. The attempt did not, however, come off, as the plot was discovered in the nick of time by Tarābyā's wife, who was at the same time King Warēru's daughter, and revealed by her to her father. This resulted in Tarābyā's being instantly apprehended and put to death.

|| See also Leyden's "*Malay Annals*," pp. 10, 11.

Lúang (the *Angkor Thom* of the Khmērs).<sup>\*</sup> But they are distinctly mentioned earlier than that in the Palatine Law of A.D. 1360<sup>†</sup> enacted by King Rāmāthibodī I., the founder of Ayuthia, under the name of *Pūn-fai* (literally "fire-guns").<sup>‡</sup>

The Chronicles of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, on the other hand, furnish us with proofs of the existence and use of firearms in Eastern Lāos at a still earlier date. They tell us, in fact, that P'hrayā Fā-ngūm, the warlike ruler of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, having made himself the master of Wieng Chan in A.D. 1354, despatched thence an expedition to attack Muiang P'hāi-nām, the "Thorny-bamboo town," so called on account of the thickets of thorny bamboos that surrounded it.<sup>§</sup> The chieftains charged with the task soon found out the impossibility of reducing the city, because the belt of thorny bamboos that protected it all round, like a natural bulwark, rendered it impregnable. King Fā-ngūm, upon being apprised of this insuccess and its cause, had a quantity of golden bullets made, which he sent to his chieftains with the order to load the guns with them and fire them into the bamboo thickets and then retire. So it was done, and after the besieging force had withdrawn the inhabitants of the bamboo-girt city, having found out that the projectiles fired at it by the enemy were of gold, set about to cut down and burn the bamboos in order to get at them. In their avidity for the precious metal they did not reflect that they were by such rash proceedings depriving their homestead of its natural defence. In fact, as soon as King Fā-ngūm was informed by the spies he had left to watch the course of events that the city had been deprived of its protection, he marched upon it and reduced it with the greatest ease.|| In remembrance of the manner in which the

<sup>\*</sup> Siānese edition of the "Annals of Ayuthia," p. 26. The passage is important as it shows that the Khmērs were likewise acquainted with similar weapons at the time—or, at any rate, with the explosive properties of gunpowder—a thing we are not told in the little that is left of their records. It states that upon the fall of the Khmēr capital in the hands of the Siānese host, "the King of Kambūjā got into a boat and took to flight. The Sovereign [Rāmēs'tien of Siām] alighted from his elephant and had matchlocks fired upon the fugitive. A pot of gunpowder [in the latter's boat] was hit and exploded; nevertheless the King of Kambūjā made good his escape, and only his son, the *uparāja*, was captured."

<sup>†</sup> *Kot Monphierabān*, in "Laws of Siām," Bradley edition, vol. ii., pp. 96 and 103.

<sup>‡</sup> In order to distinguish them from the *Pūn-yā* (lit. drug or poison blowpipe), the sarbacan (*sumpitan* of the Malays). This is in Siām termed also *Klōng-pāu*, and is made of *Mai Sāng*, a sort of bamboo reed with knots very far apart. The *Pūn-yā*, however, seems to have been provided, like some of the Malay *sumpitans*, with an iron sight at its farthest end, by which to regulate the aim. It was no doubt, in Indo-China, the prototype of the fire-arm, in which the explosive force of gunpowder was substituted for the impulse of the breath. The early Indo-Chinese fire-arms were, in fact, mere iron tubes unprovided with stocks, which had thus to be fired by applying them against the cheek, like those employed up to a few years ago by the H<sup>o</sup> filibusters in their raids upon the territory of Lúang P'hrah-Bāng. The term *Pūn-yā* was later on applied also to the cross-bow launching poisoned arrows; but in origin, it appears, it designated the sarbacan.

<sup>§</sup> Its classical name was *Kaṇṭhaka-vēhī Nagara*, meaning exactly the same thing.

|| A similar stratagem is mentioned by Ney Elias in his "History of the Shans" (p. 21) as having been resorted to by the Chinese in order to apparently make themselves

simple-minded natives of Phāi-nām were, Danāe-like, got at by the golden trick, the name of the city was—the Chronicles tell us—changed into *C'hieng-Kham*, the "Gold City."\*

Of all the chronicles of Western Lāos that I have examined, that of *C'hieng-māi* is the one containing the earliest and withal the most explicit mention of firearms. This is in connection with the vain attempt made in A.D. 1296 by P'hrayā Yī-bā, the last King of Lamp'hūñ, who had lost his throne in A.D. 1281, to regain possession of his kingdom. In the course of the battle that ensued with the troops of the King of *C'hieng-māi*, under whose rule Lamp'hūñ had fallen, muskets and cannons are distinctly referred to as having been used on both sides,† together with bows and arrows—a circumstance showing that firearms had not as yet attained at that stage a sufficient degree of perfection as to entirely supersede the old-fashioned weapons.‡ In fact, the Chronicle of *C'hieng-sēn* informs us

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the masters of Mūang Mau, in North-East Burmā. His narrative is to the effect that in A.D. 1414 "a party of Chinese with 130 mules came down from China. Each mule was loaded with silver cut into small pieces, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of the capital [M. Mau], those in charge led them into the bamboo jungle that surrounded the city, and scattered the silver among the trees. The party then returned to China, and the inhabitants of Mung-Mau cut down the jungle in order to find the silver. The sequel of this story is not given, but the inference is that the ruse was practised by the Chinese to clear the environs of the city of the jungle in order to attack it the more easily." Undoubtedly such was the reason, since we see the M. Mau State repeatedly invaded by Chinese troops not long after the trick had been played upon its *chef-lieu*. But the story must have been imperfectly translated to Elias by his interpreters, for it is much more likely that the silver was, like the gold in the case of the siege of Phai-nām, fired into the bamboo jungle than merely "scattered among the trees" as stated in the above passage.

\* It still exists in a much dilapidated condition to the north of *C'hieng Khwāng*, in the territory of the district known from the earliest ages as *Mūang Phien*, but which the French prefer to call by the barbarous and modern Annamese designation of *Tran-ninh*.

† The native terms employed to designate them admit of no doubt. They are :

1. *Sināt*, a musket, this being a word adopted from the Mōñ *sanāt* or *senāt*, meaning a gun. Among the *Khamti*s of North-West Burmā it takes the form *silāt* and *salāt*. With the Burmese it becomes *senat*.

2. *Rabū* or *Labū*, probably a clerical mistake for *lam-bū*, which is the term employed later on to designate the cannon cast in A.D. 1401.

3. *Kōng-nā* (equivalent to the Siānese *Klōng nā*), meaning small firearms. *Kōng* (*i.e.*, *Klōng*), signifying generically a tube or pipe, is the term still used among the Thai populations of Burmā (the so-called "Shans") to designate a gun. *Nā* means a cross-bow, hence *Kōng-nā* conveys the idea of a "barrelled cross-bow," viz., a gun.

‡ The same happened in mediæval Europe, where, although the use of firearms in warfare has been traced back to A.D. 1281, when they are said to have been first employed by Count Guido di Montefeltro against the troops of the Church, cross-bows continued to hold their own for some 200 years, and were not finally cast aside until the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The first cannons recorded in history appear to be the "crakys of war" employed by Edward III. against the Scots in A.D. 1327. The use of firearms seems thus to have originated well-nigh synchronously in both Europe and Indo-China, a circumstance which totally excludes its having been imported from one to the other of these countries, but would tend, on the contrary, to argue that both must have received the new invention at about the same time from a common source. This must have been situated in some country lying intermediately between them, which may be either India, Arabia, or Persia.

that still a few years later, viz., in A.D. 1307, a ballista, which it took thirty men to carry, was employed in the defence of C'hieng-tung against an attack of the Chinese. On the other hand, scarcely a century after that, and precisely under the date A.D. 1401, we are told in the C'hieng-mǎi Chronicle that the people of P'hū-yāu succeeded in casting a brass cannon 90 inches (= 75" English) in girth, a very creditable performance for the time, even if due allowance is made for all possible exaggeration on the part of the writer that recorded that measurement.

The foregoing evidence makes it patent that while firearms were already known in Indo-China since the close of the thirteenth century A.D., and extensively employed in the second half of the century next following, they were, *per contra*, entirely unheard of before the last quarter of the thirteenth century. This last contention is proved not only by the narratives of contemporaneous battles, such as those of the Siānese in the Malay Peninsula (between A.D. 1260-1300) already alluded to, in which engagements bows and the like are mentioned as the only weapons made use of for throwing missiles, but is yet more palpably made evident down to about A.D. 1150, by the very pageants depicted on the walls of the Angkor Wat galleries, and presenting a view of the warlike apparatus in use at the time in Kamboja and neighbouring nations, especially Siām, where no weapon bearing the slightest resemblance to a firearm is to be seen. We must therefore conclude either that the allusion to firearms in connection with the defence of Swankhalōk against the army from C'hieng-sēn during the last quarter of the twelfth century or earlier—a period at which they do not appear to be recorded in any chronicle nor represented on any monument of the neighbouring States—is one of those delicious anachronisms so frequently met with in Oriental literature; or else that the war-engines resorted to on that occasion were instead ballistæ, hurling forth earthen pots charged with either gunpowder or some other explosive mixture. Engines of this kind are known to have been employed by the Chinese as early as A.D. 1127. Prior to that period "fire-tubes" filled with inflammable materials were resorted to,\* but as to real cannons there is no evidence of their having been cast in China before A.D. 1407. It thus appears evident that China was about the last place where to apply to for gun-makers before that period, and the fact that a big gun had

\* See Mayers, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87, where he traces their use in China back to A.D. 917, in connection with some inflammable substance resembling Greek fire. Tubes of this description, he proceeds to say, appear to have been first employed in the Western world by the Byzantine Emperor Leo between A.D. 890 and 911. It is recorded, however, that "towards the end of the seventh century the architect Kallinikos, of Heliopolis, when Constantinople was besieged by the Arabs in 668, manufactured big tubes made of iron or other metals, formed like big beasts with gaping jaws, out of which were thrown iron, stones, and combustibles. In consequence of the havoc caused by these projectiles the siege of the city was raised" (Oppert, *op. cit.*, p. 47). Similar "fire-tubes" appear, on the other hand, to have been used from a very early period in India, where they were called *nālīkī* because originally made out of bamboo canes (see *ibid.*, p. 66); so were probably in origin the *Pūn-fai* of the Siānese. Even to this day bamboo guns such as here described are employed by the peasants in some parts of Siām to guard their fields.



been cast in Northern Siām since A.D. 1401 fully demonstrates that the Siānese must have learnt the art from some other quarter. If, therefore, artist-founders were really obtained from China at the time of the Lāu siege of Swankhalôk, it must have been either in order to make "fire-tubes," such as alluded to above, or to construct engines for the launching of "thunderbolt projectiles" similar to those employed in China since A.D. 1161.\*

Apart from this moot point concerning firearms, I see little reason for questioning the statement of the native chronicles as regards bronze-founders and other kinds of metal workers being sent out at that period to make some sort of war-engines. Among them there may have been also skilled enamellers who thus introduced the art of niello and *champlevé* manufacture into Northern Siām,† the homestead of *samrit* bronze. Concerning, however, the point as to whether the secret of making *samrit* or some similar kind of alloy was likewise imported from China at this period, only a thorough inquiry into the composition of the bronzes contemporarily manufactured by the Chinese will furnish us with the evidence wherewith to decide the question. All I can gather from the meagre foreign sources of information lying at my disposal is that some sort of black bronze was known to the Chinese since a very early period and apparently held in great esteem. An Annamese tradition tells us that at the time of the Emperor Wei Lieh Wang of the Chou dynasty, who reigned between B.C. 425-401, an Annamese saint who had rendered the latter some important service obtained in reward a certain quantity of precious black bronze which he brought back with him to Annam, and cast in the form of a statue now still to be seen at Ha-nôi, and highly revered by the people.‡ Mere legend that it may be, and considerably antedated withal, this account shows nevertheless that black bronze was as much prized as an alloy in Annam as in China, whence the art of manufacturing it was evidently introduced. The same may have been the case in Siām, given that the alloy here alluded to is of a similar composition

\* Mayers, *ibid.*, p. 84. These projectiles were made of paper filled with lime and sulphur.

† *Cloisonné*, apparently in much favour in China at the present day, was not presumably introduced, as it is scarcely, if ever, manufactured in Siām. Most local enamelled work is either niello or *champlevé*.

‡ See Landes, in "Excursions et Reconnaissances," No. 20, p. 313. A well-read Annamese here tells me that the alloy referred to in the story is termed *O-kim*, this being the Annamese pronunciation of the Chinese expression *Wu-chin*, which literally means "black metal," but practically "black bronze." There is no mention of it, however, in Giles' Dictionary, which, by the way, seems somewhat deficient in metallurgical terms. As further proofs that *samrit* is probably of Chinese origin, I may adduce the fact that a small statue of Buddha made of that metal was fished up some fifty years ago, entangled in a cast net, out of the branch of the river called Thalē Mahārāj, near Lop'hburī, which was pronounced to be of either Chinese or Annamese manufacture, and over 500 years old. Again, another statue of Buddha called the Buddha of Gandhāra (*i.e.*, Yünnan) was brought—as we shall see in a subsequent section—to Ayuthia from China in A.D. 1617, and this is likewise made of *samrit* metal. Sinologists should have now no difficulty in identifying this alloy, and finding out whether it was invented in China or adopted by the Chinese, in their turn, from India.

to *samrit*. Siamese, we have seen, or rather their early predecessors in the country, as well as their neighbours, became acquainted with the art of bronze-casting from the remotest age; but none of the ancient bronze implements so far discovered bears the slightest resemblance to *samrit* in the proportion of the metals that enter to form them. *Samrit* is, on the other hand, a word of Sanskrit derivation, and on this account gives rise to the supposition that the alloy it designates may have likewise been introduced from India, as it may be presumed to have happened in regard to other alloys possessed of more or less imaginary properties and Sanskrit or Pāli denominations.\* Here again information fails us as regards the composition of the ancient bronzes of India, and the question must be left for settlement to specialists in the matter. There is, however, one more point that would seem to favour the supposition just alluded to, and which on this account should not be left unnoticed. This concerns the three famous statues of Buddha, which, as mentioned in the introductory part of this paper, were cast by the direction of the C'hieng-sên King directly after he had founded the city of P'hisulôk. This event must have taken place, according to the method of reckoning adopted by us, during the first quarter of the twelfth century, instead of shortly after the middle of the tenth, as mentioned in the Northern Chronicles. Now the same Chronicles tell us that *samrit* bronze was the metal out of which the statues in question were cast, and add that five skilful artists were obtained from Swankhalôk to assist those from C'hieng-sên and Haribhujaya (Lamp'hûn) in the making of the moulds and the subsequent operations, as Swankhalôk artisans were known to be far more proficient in such work than those from Lāos. The names of the five Swankhalôk master hands brought into requisition are recorded; they are all Sanskrit-derived, thus arguing that their owners were of Indû extraction. This notwithstanding, it is difficult to believe that the Chinese brass-founders who had been imported some twenty years previously should have remained totally extraneous to such an important job. No doubt they, or at any rate their descendants, must have had a hand in it, especially in the operations connected with the casting of the statues. It was probably owing to them that Swankhalôk had acquired so high a reputation in such kind of work, and that *samrit* metal first became known in the country. Prior to their advent we do not hear of any statue of so large a size as those here referred to being cast in Siam,† or of any alloy approaching to

\* Such are, e.g., the alloys known as *paicaloha*, *sattaloha*, and *navaloha*, whose names argue them to be composed of respectively, *five*, *seven*, and *nine* different metals.

† The measurements of the *finaraj* statue of Buddha, as taken by me at P'hisulôk are: height, 3'67 metres; lap-width (from knee to knee, the attitude represented being the one termed *samadhi*, viz., the sitting posture of ecstatic meditation), 2'90 metres. The statue was not, however, cast all of one piece, but in separate parts which were afterwards joined together, the lines of junction being still distinguishable. Such has ever since been the method adopted for statues of large size in Siām. Notwithstanding the co-operation of the Swankhalôk artisans in the fashioning of the moulds for the three statues, the latter retain several distinctive traits of Lāu workmanship; for instance, the fingers of the hand are made of equal length, a characteristic common to idols from the Lāu country, but absent in those from Swankhalôk, where the fingers are

*samrit* in composition being employed for the purpose. Even granting that the Chinese brass-founders who had settled at Swankhalòk had no direct part in the work, one cannot help admitting that, during the long interval of about twenty years that they had been settled in the country they must have had ample time to make the details of their art well known to the natives, some of whom may have become highly proficient and perfectly equal to the task set before them by the C'hieng-sèn King. In any case, it is quite plain that the presence in the country of the Chinese brass-founders must have influenced in some way or other the native methods of casting obtaining at the period, being to a large extent responsible for the superior kind of work produced on that occasion.

Summing up, then, the results of the above inquiry, we find that the intercourse that Siam had with China during the period passed under review in the course of the present chapter resulted in the introduction into the country of several new handicrafts which must have had, undoubtedly, a considerable beneficial influence upon the social and industrial life of her people. The handicrafts alluded to are :

1. Crockery-ware manufacture.
2. Improved methods of bronze-casting, with perhaps the receipt for the manufacture of *samrit* metal.
3. The art of enamelling upon metal, and making, especially, niello and *champlevé* work.
4. The construction of improved ballistæ or similar war-engines, which became typified later on in the machine used in the defence of C'hieng-tung in A.D. 1307.
5. The utilization, probably, of the explosive effects of gunpowder in the missiles thrown by engines of that description.

In the face of these results, the foregoing somewhat lengthy discussion cannot, perhaps, be said to have been made in vain. In the following chapters we shall endeavour to continue to trace which were the elements that Siānese civilization derived through intercourse with China as distinguished from those which she drew from India, and, later on, from more Western countries. For we feel that in an inquiry like this a simple bare narrative of the missions that were exchanged between the two countries can serve no very useful purpose, if the fruits that such continued relations have borne for at least one of the parties interested are not duly investigated and brought out into prominence. By this course alone will one be able to form a judgment as to how far the one country influenced the other through the channel of that intercourse. Hitherto no one has ever taken into account this peculiar feature of Siāmo-Chinese relations, under the impression, no doubt, that it being presumably of a trifling importance it could very well be neglected. But our subsequent researches

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diversified in length as in the natural hand. This admixture of Lāu traits does not, however, detract much from the excellence of the work, which is in other respects very superior indeed ; and thus the three statues referred to rank among the most beautiful specimens that native art has ever produced ; while in point of antiquity they do not seem to have any rival—in so far as castings are concerned—in the country.

will demonstrate that far from such being the case, the influence of Chinese civilization upon Siām became so marked, as the relations between the two countries grew closer and more frequent, as to considerably affect not only her social life, but even her political institutions. To trace, therefore, to what extent Siām is indebted to China for her present civilization, and in what particular respects, becomes a point of paramount importance, which should not by any means be lost sight of in connection with the history of the country, as having been one of the no less important actors that contributed to its development.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## FAMINE IN INDIA: ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

SIR,

I am sorry Mr. Hare should think it right to charge me with insincerity in criticising his pamphlet. My object in noticing it was not so much to discuss his main thesis, but to correct what appeared to me to be misleading statements and errors of fact.

I quite admit that in primitive times the Hindu system of sharing the crop may have been very successful, though I am afraid the old rulers always took the lion's share, as their successors the Zemindars continue to do to this day.

In theory, of course, it is an ideal system; no crop, no assessment; small crop, small assessment, and so on; but when it comes to practice we shall see presently what Sir A. Seshiah Shastri (for he has been most deservedly knighted since Mr. Hare wrote last) says about it. Not that I have ever pretended that the present system is perfect; but I do protest against the reiterated libel on successive Governments of India implied in the assertion that the old system has been "deliberately" set aside with the diabolical object of extracting the last drop of his blood from the long-suffering ryot. On the contrary, I assert with the utmost confidence, after personal experience of our system for twenty-three years, that, whatever mistakes may have been (and still are being) made, during the last fifty years, at any rate, the main object of the Government and all the best of the civilian administrators I have known has been *to improve the position of the ryot*. I am quite conscious of the immense revolution that was effected when the land tenure was changed from communistic to individualistic; and though there were some good points about the old plan of joint ownership, I have no doubt whatever that the change has been immensely to the advantage of the ryot himself, though it also simplifies the labours of the "tax-collector." The fact that he has to pay a comparatively small fixed amount instead of half his crop is, I believe, an incalculable boon to the thrifty ryot; and this amount is not, as Mr. Hare asserts, altogether "irrespective of harvests," because we have in Madras an elaborate system of remissions of revenue in case of the failure (or excess) of water. True, these remissions are not always granted with all the liberality that is, in my opinion, desirable; and, as Mr. Ganjan Venkatratnam has been explaining in the pages of *United India*, the practice of the Government of late years has (apparently) been less lenient than its principles.

Mr. Hare complains of what he calls "unfairness too common to controversialists," and proceeds to charge me with "pretending" to be disappointed, though it is quite certain that I should have been only too pleased to dance, or express my joy in any other suitable manner, if I had discovered any suggestion of a practical remedy for the evils he describes.

He also misrepresents what I actually said, and by the pernicious aid of italics would make it appear to the casual reader that it is only from the tax-collector's point of view that we have "found the sharing system to be the worst ever known."

Now, it is quite true that revenue officers are all tax-gatherers, and that my old and most highly-respected friend Seshiah was a tax-gatherer from his youth, until his honourable retirement after a most distinguished service as Chief Native Assistant in the office of the Board of Revenue, followed by many years as Prime Minister of Travancore (already one of the best-governed States in India), and finally as Dewan of the ancient State of Pudukottah, where he was officially deputed to reorganize the affairs of that distracted kingdom before seeking the repose he had so richly earned.

Sir Amravati Seshiah Shastri, K.C.S.I., is my principal witness as to the evils of the sharing system, and I am glad of the opportunity of saying about him what everyone who knew him will corroborate, that he was, take him altogether, perhaps the ablest, and certainly one of the most genial native gentlemen I ever met. Everyone who knew Seshiah—and I wish there were more of us left—knows that he was as crammed full of the soundest common-sense and good-feeling for the people of the country as any man that ever lived; and Mr. Hare must surely know that a "tax-collector" in India is seldom a tax-collector only. Even Seshiah, though his chief ostensible business in the Board of Revenue was the collection of revenue and the account-keeping of the Presidency, was much more than a mere tax-collector or accountant. Rather, he was the most important confidential native adviser of the Board on all matters affecting the welfare of the country, and especially the well-being of the ryots—truly a most responsible office; why he should not have been made a member of the Board I could never understand. He was a member to all intents and purposes. As to the rest of us up-country revenue officials, we are all, as Mr. Hare is no doubt well aware, *charged with the peace of our districts*. A mere "tax-collector," with no other duty than to collect the amount ordered to be raised by taxation, might easily, from want of any sense of responsibility for the consequences, be led to do things calculated to cause a riot. A tax-collector, *who is also as magistrate responsible for the peace of his district*, is likely to be more careful.

Having now made it clear, I hope, that Seshiah is a person to be listened to with respect, and one who certainly knew from long personal experience what he is talking about, I will give in his own words what he said about the sharing system (*amāni*) as practised in Pudukottah when I was there as Political Agent in 1874-75. His report is dated 1880. He writes:

"A very large portion of the lands under cultivation, and believed to be of the best kind, were held under this system. *The property in these lands vested in the Sarkar*. The ryots were in most cases tenants-at-will, and theoretically could be turned off without their consent. The transfer or sale of such lands was void at law. The crop raised by the ryot (at his own expense generally, and at times assisted with seed-grain from the *Sarkar*) was shared half and half between him and the *Sarkar*. He removed his share to his own house, and carried the *Sarkar* share to the

granaries provided for the purpose, and, if there were none, kept it in his own house, either in trust or under the lock and key of the responsible Sarkar village officers. These were the main features of the system, and to one who knows no more they must appear on their face to be very just indeed. What could be more fair? The ryot and the Sarkar by sharing the crop equally share equally the vicissitudes of season and market.

"During a life-long career of service, I have had opportunities of watching closely the working of the sharing system in all its varied forms in many districts of the Madras Presidency as well as in Travancore, and my experience has been of an interestingly sad kind. To tell the whole tale would occupy more space than would be justifiable in this place. I shall, therefore, content myself with stating briefly what is the case in this State.

"The system is saturated with evils and frauds of a grave nature :

"(a) The ryots, having no heritable or transferable property (in the soil), never cared to cultivate the *Amāni* lands in due season. If you saw a bit of cultivation at the tail end of the season, the chances are it is *Amāni*. Ryots prefer infinitely to cultivate other lands held on different tenures, such as *Inam*, *Jeevithum*, and money-assessed lands. To prevent this, a penal agreement is forced from them to the effect that they would not fail to cultivate the *Amāni* lands first.

"(b) As soon as the ears of the grain make their appearance, an army of watchers called *Kunganums* (literally, 'eye-watchers') is let loose. As they get no pay for the duty, and are for the most part the old militia of the country (on whom this kind of work is imposed since fighting times had departed), and get a grain fee on the crop they watch, their watch is at best often lax.

"(c) When the crop arrives towards maturity, it is the turn of the Sarkar village officers and the village headmen, (called *Mirasidars* here,) to go round the fields and note down estimates of the crop. That there is considerable wooing and feeling at this stage goes for the saying. As in other matters so in this—the race is to the rich and woe to the poor.

"(d) As soon as the village officers have done and reported the first estimate, down come special estimators from the *Taluk Kacharis* to check the first estimate. Their demands have equally to be satisfied. Then comes the business of obtaining permission to cut and stock the crops. Here, again, another stage where much feeling and grudge (?) paying take place. If permission is delayed just two days, an adverse shower of rain irreparably damages the crop on the field, or overexposure to the sun renders the grain unmarketable.

"(e) Then comes the threshing and division of grain on the threshing-floor. What takes place then may be imagined. If the out-turn is less than the estimate, the ryot is made responsible for the *difference* without any further ado. If it is more, woe be to the *estimators*! The result in the latter case is often that the difference is made away with, and shared half and half between the ryot and officers concerned. During all this time the unpaid army of watchers continues on duty.

"(f) Now the Sarkar grain is removed to the granaries. Is all danger

over now? By no means. A fresh series of frauds commences. The granaries have neither impregnable walls, nor are their locks Chubb's patents. The half-famished *Vettiyan*, the hereditary watchman of the village, mounts guard, and he and the village headman are personally held responsible for any deficiency which may occur on the re-measurement of the grain out of the granary. It often happens that the poor *Vettiyan*, stung by hunger, is driven to certain deeds much against his conscience. Scaling over the mud walls, or forcing open the too easily yielding village locks, he helps himself from time to time to what his urgent wants may dictate. It is not often he is able to replace, even if he was so minded, what he has appropriated before the day of reckoning comes. This comes sometimes soon, and sometimes late, depending on the time when the paddy is required for Sarkar purposes, or for sale to purchasers. When it does come, there is crimination and recrimination without end, the *Vettiyan* charging the *Mirasidars*, and the *Mirasidars* the *Vettiyan*. The Sarkar officials, to vindicate its robbed rights, come down heavily on both, and often both are ruined. If the misappropriation is made in very small quantities, the way of replacement is very ingenuous: a quantity of chaff, or a quantity of loose earth, or a quantity of big-grained sand is put in to make up the measure.

“(g) Time passes, and the months denoting favourable markets come round. There now remains the business of disposing of the Sarkar grain from the granaries. Simple as it may appear, enormous difficulty is experienced, and we have to face another series of frauds now on the part of the *Taluk*, or superior officers. Tenders are invited, but only a few come and bid low. Tenders are again invited, but to no better purpose. At last come upon the scene a set of unscrupulous fraudulent tradesmen, or relatives or friends of those in authority, or mere speculators, professing to give security, which is really worthless. These men bid higher prices and take up the grain in the lots they require. They remove the grain, but make no payment down, but enter into promises to pay value in eight instalments, and profess to give due security for the fulfilment of the promise. It not unfrequently happens that the purchaser decamps, and his security is found to have followed suit, or found to be hollow. The money due on the sales to the relatives and friends of the officers outstands the longest. If, to avoid these troubles, the grain is taken direct to the nearest market to be there sold outright for cash, few could be induced to pay the *market* price, the Sarkar grain being notoriously bad crop, and unscrupulously adulterated.

“Such is a brief résumé of the beauties of the *Amdni* system. Complaints against the system on the part of the poorer ryots were rife. The State was ringing with the news of the plunder practised every day. Honest-minded higher officers found themselves helpless to apply a remedy. The evils in all their realities came home to me. To knock the system on the head was the only remedy possible, and to this I had to apply myself as soon as I ascertained the wishes of the people and had leisure to begin.”

In corroboration of Seshiah's account I will only add a few lines from



one of the best friends the ryots of Madras ever had, my old Collector, R. K. Puckle, C.I.E.

"Ryots," he says, "do not now run away from their lands in spite of the vigilance of the *Kavalgar* (village watchman) and peons, as they used to do, but rather prefer to cultivate them, and are with difficulty induced to part with them, even at high prices. I gave Rs. 1,000 an acre for the land on which the Tinnevely (railway) station stands."

As I have had occasion to say very often, that same land was reported to have "no saleable value" in 1820. Surely its value has been created by settled government and steady markets.

Mr. Hare, however, says that the Madras ryot only works for the benefit of the Government. But why, then, should Government pay him Rs. 1,000 an acre when his land is required for public purposes? Surely he must cultivate it to some purpose for his own benefit as well as that of the Government.

To illustrate the generally moderate nature of the assessment levied by Government as compared with that payable to private landlords, Mr. Puckle mentions a village, the half of which was held direct from Government, the other half from a local Zemindar—"all irrigated from the same tank." "The Ryotwari lands," he says, "I then settled at Rs. 9 an acre, but calculated that the Zemindari lands, which were held on the sharing system (two-thirds, I think, to the Zemindar), were paying at the then high price of grain (1873) the equivalent of *Rs. 90 an acre.*"

Lastly, let me just add that the substitution of a fixed money assessment is not an evil invention of the English, as Mr. Hare seems to think. Akbar's famous Minister, Todar Mull (a Hindu), was the first to see the necessity of getting rid of the sharing system *in the interest of the ryot*—at least, so we have always supposed.

Of course, as Mr. Thorburn says, our rule in India is a sort of "enlightened selfishness"; but Mr. Hare denies that it has even sense enough not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. I am afraid it must be admitted that, however much more enlightened it may have become, the government of India by Great Britain is founded on selfishness; but let it not be forgotten that it is the Parliament of England that is ultimately responsible for the character of the English rule, and it is the English people who, through their representatives in Parliament, are guilty of the most outrageous acts of meanness towards India, as so painfully exemplified only this year. Everyone knows that if the Indian Government had the same independence as any of our self-governing colonies, Indian industries would be protected against the crushing competition of Lancashire.

No one denies the poverty of the Indian farmer, and I am inclined to agree with Mr. Hare and many others that the excessive drain to England must be one great cause of their poverty; but, still, there is some evidence the other way, as I pointed out in a recent issue of *India*. A *minimum* of Rs. 50 for a wedding among the small cultivators in a comparatively poor district like Coimbatore, does not seem compatible with an average income of Rs. 70—Mr. Digby's estimate for Madras. A note I find in the

*Daily Mail* of the 1st inst. confirms what I have often suggested—viz., that the Hindu labourer is perhaps better off than the Italian, for instance, who is now being paid 2½d. a day for nine hours' work in the sun.

In one passage Mr. Hare scoffs at the idea of a ryot storing his crop in the form of rupees, and asks if you can "eat rupees." Such humour is beyond me; I cannot fathom it. Surely one can buy food with rupees, for it is generally admitted that there is never now a famine of *food*, but only of money or credit. Surely, then, a store of rupees acquired by the sale of produce in a good market would be as useful in case of famine as the antiquated grain-heap, and much less liable to damage of all kinds.

Then he asks me why I consider it an advantage (*for a labourer*) to be paid in grain, and yet better (*for a farmer*) to store his crop in the form of rupees, and says "one statement refutes the other." It seems to me that Mr. Hare has entirely misunderstood me. When I spoke of the labouring classes being paid in grain, I was speaking of the actual practice which prevailed in Tanjore in my time, and I conjectured that the same system might be followed in Bengal, and might account for the freedom from famine even amongst the coolies, which Mr. Dutt—a greater authority on India than Mr. Hare—says has characterized Bengal for more than a century. I notice that in *United India* for July 29 it is stated that "*in most cases such labourers*" in the Godavery District "*are still paid in kind.*" Possibly, however, they may receive their pay for the whole year at harvest, in which case they must, of course, store it *for a year*.

Mr. Hare can get some glimmer of the truth about the so-called Bengal famine of 1873-74 from p. 126 of the same number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in which his letter appears. I am content to follow Mr. Dutt, who was in Bengal at the time, and says that there has been no real famine in Bengal for one hundred years. I am quite aware that in famines the labouring classes are generally discharged, and necessarily go to relief works for a time, just as the (proportionately) much greater army of unemployed in this country go to the workhouse; but in Tanjore, and, I imagine, Bengal generally, there is no such thing as famine, and the labouring classes have consequently no lack of food.

I said nothing before of the new artificial currency, partly because nobody seems really to understand the question, and chiefly because I certainly do not profess to do so. Still, Mr. Hare's last chapter, which he unwisely, as I think, and certainly impolitely, entitles "The Currency Swindle"—thus imputing deliberate fraud where I hope there is no proof of any such thing—is in many ways the most interesting part of his pamphlet, and personally I am quite inclined to agree with him and others (notably Mr. Jamsetjee Ardeshir Wadia,\* and Messrs. Campbell, Holland, and Muir, the Minority of the Committee on Indian Currency of 1899, a paper which is not referred to by Mr. Hare,) that the effect of fixing the rupee at one shilling and fourpence, when its real value is less than one shilling, is unfair to the ryots, and does amount to increasing their assessment by 33 per cent.

I am afraid I cannot look so far forward as Mr. Hare, and expect the

\* "The Artificial Currency and the Commerce of India," Bombay, 1902.

time when "love will have abolished money altogether, along with other weights and measures," nor does it even seem to me that a medium of exchange is a bad thing in itself if it were possible to find one that is stable. Unfortunately, that seems to be unattainable, and certainly the conflict between various media of exchange seems to have been an unmitigated evil. Where Mr. Hare appears to me to err is in contending that the Government of India in particular has always been actuated by fraudulent motives in its currency legislation. Having dubbed their proceedings a "swindle" from the beginning, he proceeds on p. 32 to write a history of them, worded so as to prove his contention. But it seems to me that most sober-minded people who are not possessed with the idea that all Governments are almost necessarily criminal will agree rather with the late Mr. Macleod's history of the monetary system of India, as given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1900, which does not at all agree with Mr. Hare's sketch. Mr. Macleod, indeed, admits a great deal of ignorance on the part of the ruling powers; but Mr. Hare, though occasionally admitting that the fall in the value of silver was "nobody's fault," almost in the same breath asserts that it is "through currency changes alone" that the people of India have been decapitalized to the extent of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. Surely he does not mean that the Government of India should have gone on coining rupees without limit at the full value of two shillings when their intrinsic value was perhaps tenpence halfpenny? On the other hand, Mr. Macleod seems to ignore the serious effect on the ryot of the artificial rupee to which Mr. Jamsetjee Ardeshir Wadia devotes so much attention. Matters will, no doubt, adjust themselves in time, but in the meantime the ryot suffers; and certainly this surreptitious way of raising the land assessment 33 per cent. by putting "a false value on the coin," as Mr. Wadia says, goes far to justify Mr. Hare's strictures, especially since this effect was evidently foreseen, as appears from the evidence of Sir A. P. MacDonnell on p. 54 of Mr. Wadia's pamphlet. The fact that taxation is increased, as Sir Antony says, "unconsciously," and that the people are "*conscious* of no additional burden," makes the plot seem so much blacker that one would like to hear Sir Antony's explanation of his somewhat questionable evidence.

It is also a curious fact that, in spite of all Mr. Macleod's objections to bimetallism, the present system (which he approves), with its fixed ratio between gold and silver and the equal recognition of both metals as legal tender to an unlimited amount, is, to all intents and purposes, bimetallism for the time being. And what must unsophisticated natives think when they see that, after refusing to recognise the gold mohur as the equivalent of Rs. 15 some forty or fifty years ago, we have now compelled them to accept a sovereign as of the same value in rupees as the much finer-looking old gold mohur?

It might, of course, be argued that, as the exporting ryot had profited largely for some years by the low rate of exchange, he must now resign himself to the swing of the pendulum. And if silver had gone up in value *naturally* he would have had no just cause of complaint. On the contrary, he would have benefited considerably by the consequent appreciation of

his "silver securities," but, as it is, he has to pay the same number of rupees to the Government in the shape of assessment—being *their* share of the produce—whilst for that part of *his* share which he exports he receives Rs. 15, instead of Rs. 21, as heretofore. That certainly does seem like an increase of taxation, as Sir A. P. MacDonnell said; and the fact that "the effect is produced unconsciously," and that the "people are conscious of no additional burden," is, to say the least of it, a very queer sort of justification for such increase.

I have not overlooked the controversy between Mr. Rogers and *United India*, and, though I speak with the greatest diffidence on a subject I do not profess to comprehend, I cannot follow Mr. Rogers. It seems to me that a ryot's produce for export is valued in gold. The price of wheat, for instance, is fixed for the whole world in London and varies from 20s. to 40s. a quarter. For the sake of simplicity, let us say it was 20s. when the mints were closed. Then the ryot's quarter of wheat would fetch £1 in the London market, and he would receive the equivalent of £1 (less merchant's commission), which, at the then rate of exchange, would give him Rs. 20 at least. Now that the exchange value of the rupee has been artificially forced up to 1s. 4d., he will only receive Rs. 15, though the gold price of wheat may be exactly the same; but he must pay the same number of rupees to Government as he did when he received Rs. 20 for a quarter of wheat. Mr. Rogers fails to observe that a ryot *must* sell the Government share of his produce in order to pay his assessment, *no matter what price he gets for it*, and this may often be his only monetary transaction.

In conclusion I may just notice two small points on which Mr. Hare is clearly wrong. It is *not* the case—at any rate, in Madras—that the Collector demands from the cultivators their land tax "*before the harvest*," as he says; on the contrary, the great bulk of it is payable *after* harvest. Then, on p. 24, he says that the "province of Bengal *again* suffered a famine, this time in 1783." Even his own table on the opposite page does not support this statement, the famine noted there having been in Oudh, the North-West Province, the Panjab and Central India, for the last two of which, at any rate, the Company's officials could hardly have been in any way responsible.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

*September, 1902.*

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#### VALUE OF WATER IN INDIA.

Referring to an article in our last issue, by General Fischer, on this subject, a correspondent writes:

"SIR,

"It appears to me it would be a great gain for India if people at home would form a kind of Anti-Corn Law League, and keep only one object in view, and agitate for this, till we had succeeded. The poverty of the ryot in India and the causes thereof are quite sufficient to agitate for

at present. The causes are the system of collecting land revenue by the old methods, and leaving the ryot in the same condition he has been in for ages. With a good and abundant water-supply, and cheap means of access to markets by good roads and navigable water-ways, much of this poverty can be relieved at no great cost, and in a short time, if only properly directed to *one* object; but at present we have too many irons in the fire, and the India Office just leaves us to burn them out. What good has come of the two or three hundred resolutions the Indian Congress have been passing for the last twenty years or more? Whereas, if we freed the land from present burdens which are arresting progress and industry we should save the people's pockets and put the revenue on a sound basis.

"Bangalore,

"August, 1902."

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#### RELIEF OPERATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE FAMINE IN BRITISH INDIA, 1900-1902.

Important papers have been laid before Parliament during the present Session detailing the extent of the famine and the various methods of relief which had been adopted. The Viceroy, in an admirable and exhaustive statement to his Council, has shown that the area affected was over 400,000 square miles, and a population of about 60,000,000, of whom 25,000,000 belong to British India, and the remainder to native States. Within this area the famine conditions have during the greater part of the year been intense. "Nearly one-fourth of the entire population of the Indian continent have come within the range of relief operations." No effort derived from past experience was spared to bring forth relief. Lord Curzon states that, "on the one hand, we have set our face against indiscriminate and pauperizing charity, and have endeavoured to insist on relief being administered with the care and method which we owe to the taxpayer and to the exchequer. On the other hand, we have been prepared to accept any expenditure of which it could be shown that it was required to save life or to mitigate general distress. The only intelligent and the only possible policy is based on these two principles. There is no contradiction between them. No famine has ever been or ever will be successfully administered that does not exhibit, according to the point from which it is scrutinized, the opposite characteristics of strictness and leniency, or that is not open to the charge—if charges are to be brought—of being at different moments profuse and grudging."

After detailing the various steps which were taken to promote and administer relief, and the sad and fatal results of the famine, Lord Curzon makes the following important comparison between the present and past famines: "When, however, I read the records of earlier famines, and compare their results with this, I do feel some cause for satisfaction. We are sometimes told of the wonderful things that happened in India before the days of British rule, and are invited in most unhistorical fashion to regard it as a Saturnian age. I have looked up the statistics of the last

great famine that occurred in Bengal while that province was still under native administration. This was in the year 1770. I speak of local administration because, although the Diwani of Bengal had been assumed by the Company a few years before, the latter had not yet taken over the civil administration, which remained in the hands of the former native officers of the Delhi Government. Throughout the summer of that year it is on record that the husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field; and when the height of the summer was reached the living were feeding on the dead. The streets of the city were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dead and dying; even the dogs and jackals could not accomplish their revolting work. Disease attacked the starving and shelterless survivors, and swept them off by hundreds of thousands. Before the end of May, 1770, one-third of the population was officially calculated to have disappeared. In June the deaths were returned as 6 is to 16 of the whole inhabitants, and it was estimated that one-half of the cultivators must perish. Two years later Warren Hastings, who had assumed the government of Bengal on behalf of the British Power, stated the entire loss as at least one-third of the inhabitants, and subsequent calculations revealed that the failure of this single crop in the single province of Bengal had carried off within nine months no fewer than ten out of less than thirty millions of human beings.

"After this appalling record of what famine meant in India a century ago, it was almost with a sense of relief that I read the other day in a manifesto issued by an English M.P. to his constituents, whom, I may observe in passing, that he no longer represents, that 'Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon have looked helplessly on while two millions of human beings have perished of starvation and disease in India.' Had this statement been true, however damaging to the Secretary of State or to myself, it would yet have pointed an extraordinary contrast between the methods and results of 1900 and those of the eighteenth century. But that it is not true is known to every intelligent person in England and in this country. Every man, woman and child who has perished in India in the present famine has been a burden upon my heart and upon that of the Government. Their sufferings have never been absent from our thoughts. It cannot truthfully be said, even by the most envenomed of opponents, that we have looked helplessly on. On the contrary, I fearlessly claim, and I challenge contradiction, that there has never been a famine when the general mortality has been less, when the distress has been more amply or swiftly relieved, or when Government and its officers have given themselves with a more whole-hearted devotion to the saving of life and the service of the people" (Blue-Book, vol. i., "British Districts," 1902).

The amount of famine loans to Native States sanctioned (other than those of the Bombay Presidency) from October, 1899, to March 27, 1902, is as follows:

*(a) Class I.—Loans by the Government of India :*

	Rs.
1. Central India ... ..	7,94,000
2. Rajputana ... ..	74,44,560
3. Hyderabad ... ..	2,00,00,000
4. Central Provinces ... ..	4,33,006
5. Bengal ... ..	20,000
6. Punjab ... ..	1,65,000

*(b) Class II.—Loans from Funds supplied by His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia, Central India :*

Central India ... ..	11,99,000
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*(c) Loans to be borrowed in the Open Market or from other States under Government Guarantee, or with the permission of the Government :*

1. Central India ... ..	12,25,000
2. Baroda ... ..	£503,000

Loans sanctioned to Native States in the Bombay Presidency from the year 1899-1900 up to November 15, 1901 :

	1899-1900. Rs.	1900-1901. Rs.	1901-1902. Rs.
1. Kathiawar Agency ...	21,25,000	42,00,000	8,00,000
2. Bijapur Agency ... ..	40,000	2,00,000	3,12,000
3. Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country Agency	Nil.	5,000	Nil.
4. Mahikantha Agency ...	14,197-5-8	4,56,271-10-4	2,54,000
5. Rewakantha Agency ...	90,000	1,68,000	5,63,000
6. Palanpur Superintendency	5,70,000	11,47,861	2,67,029
7. Surat Agency ... ..	40,000	1,00,000	Nil.

(Compiled from Blue-Book No. II., "Native States.")

## THE MAHSUD-WAZIRI OPERATIONS.

An important Blue-Book has been issued by Parliament detailing the various operations connected with the Mahsud-Waziri operations, entitled "East India (North-West Frontier)." To bring the Mahsuds to terms, a blockade was established, commencing on December 1, 1900, and ending March 11, 1902. This system proved highly successful. The objects were reparation and punishment on account of offences committed before and also during the blockade, and the establishment of a political reform in the internal administration of the tribe. The governing organ, hitherto composed of Maliks selected and paid by us, has been replaced by the "old tribal Jirga," which in a democratic republic like that of the Mahsud community is the natural, and, indeed, the only possible, governing agency.

The Jirga is now in full strength, and working successfully in controlling the tribe. Upon the existence and maintenance of this supreme and internal authority depends the success, in the opinion of the Special Commissioner (Mr. R. H. Merk), of our future relations with the Mahsuds. Mr. Merk thinks that the severity of the blockade has left no rancour. The Mahsuds and the surrounding population consider the measures which were adopted temperate, legitimate, and just.

### THE THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

The Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists held its sittings at Hamburg from September 4 to 10 under the presidency of Dr. Mönckeberg, the Burgomaster.

The following countries sent delegates: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Montenegro, Persia, Roumania, Russia, and Servia. Great Britain had no special representative, but several of its learned bodies—such as the Royal Asiatic Society, the Scottish Geographical Society, the Victoria Institute, the Japan Society, the Manchester Geographical Society, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Universities of London, Cambridge, and Edinburgh—were represented.

We shall have a full account of the proceedings of the Congress in our next issue from the able pen of Professor Dr. E. Montet, who was the representative of the Geneva University.

The next Oriental Congress will take place at Algiers in the year 1905.

### ORIENTAL CONGRESS AT HANOI.

We rejoice to learn that an International Oriental Congress is to be held at Hanoi on the occasion of the forthcoming Exhibition there, which will take place from December 1 to 6 next. It is the first of the kind in this part of the East, and its labours will be confined to the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The Siamese Government has already appointed the eminent and well-known archæologist and able contributor to our pages, Lieut.-Colonel Gerini, as its delegate and representative.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN; 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, 1902.

1. *A Pioneer of Imperial Federation in Canada*, by SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. Principal Grant, of Kingston University, Ontario, having sent to Sir Frederick Young an earnest invitation to be present at the laying of the foundation-stone by the Duke and Duchess of York of the new University building in 1901, and to deliver addresses on Imperial Federation in Kingston, Ottawa, and Toronto, and to attend the annual meeting of the British Empire League, accepted, after some hesitation on personal grounds, this invitation. The present volume, in a lively style, describes his journey to and from Canada and his visits and receptions by the leaders of public opinion in Kingston, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec. The author, by way of elucidating "what he means by Imperial Federation," records his addresses, and speeches by Canadians on the subject, thus giving an admirable exposition of this important question. The volume is illustrated by excellent portraits of Principal Grant, Colonel G. T. Denison, Dr. Ross, the Premier of Ontario, the Hon. George E. Foster, Dr. George R. Parkin, Sir Sandford Fleming, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfred Laurier, Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, and Lord Strathcona. The appendix contains articles and letters on the subject to the *Morning Post* and other organs of public opinion. In short, Sir Frederick Young's work affords, in a felicitous and colloquial manner, a full exposition of the principles and bearings of Imperial Federation with the view of promoting and strengthening the unity, strength, and permanence of the British Empire.

2. "*Martello Tower*" in China and the Pacific in H.M.S. "*Tribune*," 1856-1860, by FRANCIS MARTIN NORMAN, Commander, R.N., author of "*At School and at Sea*." With numerous illustrations. This volume will be as popular as the author's previous work, "*At School and at Sea*." It is a record, from the author's experience, of the lively, interesting, and eventful commission on the China and Pacific stations from 1856 to 1860 of H.M.S. *Tribune*, of 31 guns, 1,570 tons, and 300 horse-power, a typical wooden screw steam-frigate of the transitional period of the navy, in which both the out-going reign of sail and the in-coming reign of steam were represented. That period of about ten years was an important one, as, besides forming an epoch in our naval history, it was productive of some of the most beautiful specimens of naval architecture that ever "walked the waters like things of life." The *Tribune* was fitted out by Captain Harry Edmund Edgell for the Pacific; but this did not last long: in consequence of the outbreak of the Chinese War she was ordered to make the long, and in those days rarely-performed, voyage from the west coast of South America to China. The story will be perused with interest in the present day—especially by those who go, or intend to go, "down to the sea in ships"—of the passage through Magellan's Straits, the observations there

of the early Chilian settlement, of the Patagonians, Fuegians, and missionary dealings with the latter, of the revolutionary outbreaks on the Peruvian coast, and of the guano industry, now extinct, on the Chincha Islands. The author's descriptions of the operations of the war-vessels in China, and the story of the *Tribune's* homeward voyage and Vancouver's Island, are equally graphic and amusing. The illustrations are beautiful. It is a charming and well-written book, pregnant with lessons for the young cadet as well as for other officers of the navy.

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W. AND R. CHAMBERS, LIMITED; LONDON AND EDINBURGH, 1902.

3. *Britain beyond the Seas: a Descriptive Account of the British Colonies and Dependencies.* This concise and well-written book forms one of Messrs. "Chambers' Geographical Readers." It is illustrated with maps and views of places, beasts, and persons fitted to interest the reader. The author presents the work with a short introduction on "The British Empire," and then takes the reader along with him on the way to India, and gives a general view of the country, its climate, its mountains, its rivers, and principal towns and cities; thence our possessions in the Far East, our territories in South, East and West Africa, our Protectorates in Central Africa and Nigeria, Canada, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, and the Islands of the Pacific. There is also an excellent summary as to the whole of the British Empire. The work constitutes an admirable text-book for high-class schools and seminaries.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LIMITED; 2, WHITEHALL GARDENS, WESTMINSTER, 1901.

4. *Burma under British Rule—and Before*, by JOHN NISBET, D.C.C., late Conservator of Forests, Burma; author of "British Forest Trees," "Studies in Forestry," "Our Forest and Wood Lands," etc. In 2 vols., with maps. This work forms an important and exhaustive treatise on the history, the population, their social and ancient customs, their conditions under native rulers and under that of the British, the products of the country, the principal towns, ports and villages, and the development of trade and commerce. Vol. I. embraces legendary and authentic facts of Burma, down to the second Burmese War (1852); the third Burmese War (1885); the pacification of Upper Burma (1885-1890); our political and commercial relations from 1853 to 1885, and the causes that led to the third Burmese War; the civil and military administration under Burmese rule, and British administration; land tenure and revenue settlement; agricultural and rural customs and industries; mineral resources; trade and commerce; and an appendix, containing an interesting summary of the institutes of Burma law (1882). Vol. II. contains a history of the actions of Britain and France in Further India and South-Western China; railways and their extensions across Yunnan; Burmese forests and the maintenance of the teak timber supply; Burmese Buddhism; priesthood, religious observances, beliefs and superstitions; national and social habits, customs, festivals, art, language, literature,

folklore, archæology, and an account of the "hill tribes," with illustrations, maps, and a copious index. Our limited space precludes us from giving examples of the author's statements. The condition of affairs under Thibaw and his chief Queen was deplorable. "The treaties in force were not respected, while British subjects and their commercial interests involved in Upper Burma were wantonly injured, redress for wrongs being tacitly refused. Everywhere throughout the country affairs had run riot, and life and property were insecure."

"In February, 1879, Supayálat the Queen had obtained Thibaw's consent to the 'clearance' of many of the Princes who were of political importance, though no conspiracy of any sort was on foot. On the 15th, 16th, and 17th men, women and children of royal blood, all the near relatives of the King and Queen, were massacred in cold blood at Supayálat's instigation, prompted by the Taingda Mingyi" (a military chief). Neither infancy nor old age afforded protection from the blood-thirstiness suddenly developed. The aged uncle of the Nyaungyan Prince, an old man standing on the brink of the grave, who had been Governor of Pegu in 1852, was among the victims; but those also included children of the tenderest age. Infants were even torn from their mothers' arms, and their brains dashed out against the wall before their parents' eyes." To conceal all this, mirth and amusements were provided for the citizens, but, as the author states, the reports of these horrible massacres "could not be stifled. The ghastly procession of carts with the corpses of the murdered Princes could not but tell its own horrible tale, and corpses of common folks were even intentionally exposed to view."

The author's description and map of the "Golden City" is equally graphic, and the progress of Burma under British rule is equally interesting and important. Rangoon, for example, a very insignificant village, has "absorbed all the small villages lying to the north-west and south-east of it, which have now become incorporated as sections of the city; while the settlements on the right bank of the river have also been transformed into busy suburbs, resounding with the ceaseless clang of machinery, the noise of hammering in the shipyards, the dull droning whirl of rice-husking, and the higher-pitched hum from the timber sawmills. No other point in Burma could have such unrivalled advantages for trade and commerce as are enjoyed by Rangoon. The anchorage is better than could be obtained off Syriam, near the mouth of the Pegu River, the seaport in Peguan times." The country is settled and in peace, the population is increasing, according to the last census, and the imports and exports, which were in 1888-89 £11,717,067, are in 1899-1900 £20,819,992. The two volumes form a standard work on the history of Burma, and a most useful book of reference on every subject connected with the country, its people, its resources, and its commerce and trade.

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JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON, AND NEW YORK, 1902.

5. *Persian Children of the Royal Family: The Narrative of an English Tutor at the Court of H.I.H. Zillu's-Sultān, G.C.S.I.*, by WILFRID SPARROV.

The author was for some time engaged at Ispahan in teaching and training the five sons of Prince M'asud Mirza, the Zillu's-Sultan ("the shadow of the King"), eldest son of the late Shah ("the shadow of God"). How he succeeded, and his daily life and experiences, are told us in this interesting and amusing volume. The following is the author's description of a Persian *nahar*, or mid-day meal, which was sent to him daily from the Prince's kitchen: "An immense tray of brass covered over with a cloth of brilliant design in purple and gold. The average number of courses (all served at once) was fifteen. Among these there were always a dozen poached eggs on a china dish, a basin of mutton broth under a layer of yellow fat, a platter containing a *pilaw* of boiled rice flavoured with orange-juice, or mixed with raisins, a more substantial *pilaw* mixed with stewed meat, and a lamb *kibab* on a wooden skewer, folded in a sheet of 'pepple bread' to keep it warm. . . . The entrées consisted of one rich *khuresh* (curry) of flesh, and another of fowl, to be eaten with the *chilaw* (boiled rice), of which there were two white pyramids on plates. For dessert I had peaches as big as cocoa-nuts, grapes as big as English plums, several kinds of melon, for the growth of which Ispahan is famous, and delectable dates. . . . A bowl of delicious sherbet composed of pomegranate juice . . . and an uncorked bottle of Shiraz wine, with a purple aster stuck in the neck by way of a stopper, were the beverages laid before me. Last of all was a basin of *māst-khiyār* (curds and cucumbers), a favourite dish with the Persians, that should be eaten at the end of the repast, and digested in the arms of Morpheus." The volume is divided into thirteen chapters, and has upwards of forty excellent illustrations and portraits.

THE LINSOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY; TORONTO AND PHILADELPHIA.

W. AND R. CHAMBERS, LIMITED; LONDON AND EDINBURGH, 1902.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SERIES.

6. *Progress of India, Japan, and China in the Century*, by the late RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., ex-Governor of Bombay, etc. The 500 pages of this handy volume may be thus roughly divided: 200 each are given to the great empires of India and China; 100 to Japan. It is to be regretted that the distinguished author did not provide three simple maps, which would have amply served the purpose of keeping the "general" reader's attention concentrated, even if they had been mere sketch maps, marking only the features and places specifically mentioned in the course of the thirty-one chapters (thirty-two with the supplement). Of course, as regards India, the admirably experienced civilian speaks with unwonted authority, and at first hand; no outsider could presume to rashly question the statements of fact, which are just exactly those desired by the majority of persons in Great Britain in order to obtain an elementary knowledge of the vast work which has been achieved during the past century for the benefit of the 300,000,000 persons placed by destiny under our national care. Everything is lucidly put, and is easily digestible by those who have had no personal experience or have read little about our great dependency. For Japan Sir Richard Temple seems to have largely taken

Dr. Murray and Mr. B. H. Chamberlain as his guides. Like many who write upon Japanese matters, the author not unnaturally fails here and there to recognise how entirely dependent upon China for political and historical ideas the Japanese always were—at least, until the revolution under Hideyoshi, three centuries ago. For instance, *sei-i tai-shōgun*, “the highest military title ever bestowed (by the Mikado) on a subject” (p. 205), is simply the Chinese *chêng-i ta-tsiangkiün*, or “Barbarian-quelling great generalissimo”—pronounced in Japanese fashion—being the ancient title bestowed by Chinese Emperors upon the Aino-conquering Kings of old Japan; and the *fu* and *ken* (p. 255) are simply the Chinese *fu* and *hien* cities. There also seems to be a misapprehension as to the present “actual value” of the *yen* (a Chinese word for one *piece* dollar), which is given (p. 284) as 3s. 4d., making the Emperor's civil list of \$3,000,000 equal (p. 254) to £500,000.

Mr. Demetrius Boulger and Professor R. K. Douglas are the principal Mentors selected in matters concerning China, and, accordingly, we find the same familiar old tunes are played for us, without any material change beyond that which is inseparable from the personal charm of a popular and quaint conductor not quite familiar with the strange “score” before his eyes. The latter portions, however, treating of contemporary matters, upon which the great Indian civilian could judge for himself from new and definite evidence, show signs of exceptional vigour and quite independent thought. The dates in the earlier or historical parts are occasionally hazy, not to say shaky. For instance, on p. 248 we are informed that the Emperor K'ien-lung abdicated in 1793 (it was 1796), and died in 1796 (it was 1799), and yet (p. 300) that he lived long enough to see the first day of the nineteenth century. On pp. 304 and 306 two highly important events of the Ming Dynasty are put down as “about 1600,” one really being 1573, and the other 1644; at the same moment the year 1735 is stated to be “towards the end of K'ang-hi's reign,” which, as a matter of fact, closed in 1722. Whether the author has in these and other very similar cases inadvertently done injustice to his authorities, or whether those two writers have themselves misled him, it is for their own sinological consciences to decide. Notwithstanding these occasional flaws in *technique*, Sir Richard Temple manages to give the public a very good and trustworthy outline of Chinese history and policy; and, at all events, if the majority of “men in the street” were as well posted in the general history of India, Japan, and China as this mere outline book alone could make them, without further study, it would probably be of greater permanent and practical value to the home country as a whole than if a select body of specialists should strain at perfection and keep their counsel of perfection to their learned selves. The spelling of Chinese words is at best a will-o'-the-wisp sort of chase. There can never be perfect regularity where we have to render hieroglyph syllables into lettered words, and where half a dozen competing nationalities each and all have their own notions and nostrums. Hence, we must not be too surprised to read on p. 295 of the Ganhwey and Hupi Provinces, but on p. 366 of Ganhwy and Hoope. The “perfect man” would, perhaps, say An Hwei and Hu Peh. Kwantung (a name for Man-

churia) is used half a dozen times to represent Kwang Tung (Canton); and Tching (p. 349) is manifestly intended for Iching—i.e., the I-chêng of "perfection."

There are a good many useful tables in the book, which give it a special value as a work of reference. It is light and easy to hold in the hand, and, above all, it is cheap (5s.) and well printed. All lazy men should get a copy, if only to escape the charge of total ignorance; and all industrious men should get one, if only to "keep their minds from staggering"—as the late Sir Edward Creasy used to say.

E. H. PARKER.

7. *Progress of South Africa in the Century.* By GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, D.LIT., LL.D., Historiographer to the Cape Government, author of "History of South Africa," etc. The present volume forms a part of what is termed "The Nineteenth Century Series." The aim of the series is to present in a popular way, but with fulness and accuracy, the progress of the nineteenth century from every practical standpoint, and to embrace the chief subjects in which English-speaking people are interested. The publishers have been fortunate in their selection of writers and editors, which is shown by the excellent works already published. The author of the present volume, from his vast and special research as a Government official, and the various works which he has already produced, is well able, as this volume testifies, to fulfil the original intention of the publishers in producing a work "in a popular way, but with fulness and accuracy." The author states that "the book has been prepared exactly as it would have been written for the head of (his) Government to act upon, no matter what his political views might be. It contains the indisputable truths of South African history, and each individual is left to colour those truths to suit his own inclinations, whether in favour of English, Dutch, or Bantu." As far as human power goes, it is absolutely free of partisan spirit. As a Canadian of loyal descent, he naturally wishes to see the extension and solidification of the Empire, where that can take place without wrong or injustice to others, but he has not allowed that feeling to bias his work. Besides a narrative of the various important events which have taken place in South Africa during the century, there are interesting chapters on the ancient inhabitants, the Bantu or Kaffirs, the Portuguese and Dutch, and the first English occupation of the Cape Colony. There is a copious index, and a chronological table, titled "The Landmarks of Progress during the Century." We strongly commend the work. It is well written, clear and precise, and the facts drawn from original sources are stated with great accuracy.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

8. *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, transcribed from the "Original Correspondence Series" of the India Office Records, Vol. VI., 1617 (July to December). Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A., editor of "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19," etc.; published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.

The correspondence contained in this volume is of much interest.

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There are appended to the volume a copious index and a map, showing the various English settlements in the Eastern seas which were in existence at the above date. The volume is presented by an excellent introduction, which will be read with much interest at the present time. Connock having arrived with the royal letter from the King of England presented it to the Shah. His Majesty, having satisfied himself that the missive was genuine, asked what it was that the English King required of him. The answer was: "Unity, trade, and commerce between the two Kings and their subjects." The English agent having disposed of the opposition of the agents of the Portuguese and other rivals, the Shah became satisfied with the honesty and straightforwardness of Connock, and invited him to partake of refreshments, and "in a large bowl the Shah drank his Majesty our King's health, which he caused me to pledge—himself upon his knee honoured the same; which done, he told me I was welcome. Our King should be his elder brother in his respects; his friendship he did dearly esteem and tender; that he would grant us Jasques, or any other port we would require, and such freedom in every respect as in his honour he may grant. All this in the Spanish agent's presence, to whom he hath neither afforded good word nor countenance from that to this hour, but hath me graced with four several presents of fowl and venison, which he hath at no time accustomed to any" (p. 34). When the presents were presented to the Shah, Connock goes on to say, "The king (the Shah) arose, came and sat by me, drank his Majesty our King's health, discoursed of England, of our King's disposition, of his greatness and strength both by sea and land. He openly told his lords the English were a people free from lying or deceit, but that the Portugals had at any time these twenty years told him not one true word." We must refer our readers for further quotations to the admirable introduction itself.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1902.

9. *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia, or Eight Years in Irān.* By MAJOR PERCY MOLESWORTH SYKES (Queen's Bays), H.M. Consul, Kermān and Persian Baluchistān. In the year 1893 the author started to join the "Bays" in India, and proceeded there overland by way of the Continent, the Caucasus, and Eastern Persia. In Khurāsān he reached the borders of the Great Desert or Desert of Lūt, which is unequalled in aridity on the whole of the Asiatic continent. It stretches from a few miles out of Teheran practically to the British frontier, a distance of 700 miles. The easterly edge appears to be the highest, the village of Basirān lying at an altitude of 4,800 feet. Tūn is 4,300 feet, and elsewhere the average elevation may be perhaps 2,000 feet. Near Khabis the lowest levels appear to be about 1,000 feet. He says: "Owing to the exterminating wars from which Persia has suffered, the limits of the desert have been extended. My journey shows that Persia is, generally speaking, a desert with villages every few miles, laboriously kept in existence by means of irrigation. Should the supply of water cease, the villagers are forced to leave, and again, if the villagers be killed off, the *kanāts* (underground watercourses) become choked up, causing a stoppage of the water-

supply and an enlargement of the desert." The author claims to be the first European to have travelled the section of the Lūt from Meshed to Kerman. He discusses the history and also gives a good description of the province of Kerman. He estimates the number of its inhabitants at 750,000. The revenue in 1900 was about £63,000, while the amount collected may have been £90,000, the Shah's *pishkash* of £10,000, other presents, and the Governor-General's own profit being drawn from the balance. From Kerman, always anxious to avoid the known routes, he goes on to Bushire, travelling in all some 1,300 miles across Persia without loss of health or unpleasant experiences. Chapter vii. is devoted to the Persian Gulf and Maskat, followed by chapters on his route through Makran and Baluchistan, and on to Kerman, which he visits a second time. After a halt he returns to England via Yezd, Natanz, Kāshān, Kūm, Teheran, and the Caspian Sea. Chapter xiv. is devoted to "the march of Alexander the Great from the Indus to the Karun." Chapter xv. tells us how he founded the consulate at Kerman, and his appointment, with other British and Persian officers, for delimitating the Perso-Baluch boundary, an undefined strip of border 300 miles in length, running from the Kūh-i-Malik Siah to Kūhak. This was quickly and satisfactorily accomplished. The author then proceeded by Kalāt to Quetta, and thence to Simla. He soon received orders to return to Persia, to the Karun Valley, where he had an attack of pleurisy, and was obliged to take steamer round to Suez, Constantinople, and Batum, and thence to Teheran, when shortly afterwards the Perso-Baluch agreement was signed and he returned home. Other chapters are on "Marco Polo's Travels in Persia," "The Karwan Expedition," "Across Bashākird," "From Bushire to Shiraz," "From Shiraz to Isfahan," "Polo in Persia," "From Isfahan to the British Frontier," "Sistān," "The Founding of the Sistān Consulate," etc. There are over seventy excellent illustrations and a map. The volume is well got up, and great credit is due to the publisher, Mr. John Murray.

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ELLIOT STOCK ; 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C., 1902.

10. *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity: Certain Aspects of Hindu Thought from the Christian Standpoint*, by T. E. SLATER, of the London Missionary Society. This is a thoughtful and scholarly book, the work of a man who has come in contact with many currents of Indian thought, and has a kindly feeling towards them. It is true that the philosophy and learning are those of a man of culture rather than of a professed philosopher or scholar, and there are many disputable statements ; but the writer can always quote authority for his opinions, and his argument is conveyed in a clear and readable style. Mr. Slater reviews the Rig Veda, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gītā, and other religious books, and in each he finds certain verities—the doctrine of sacrifice, of the Divine Immanence, and so forth, which find their fullest expression, as he shows, in Christianity. Indeed, his exposition of the Christian doctrines fairly occupies the larger part of the book. As an exposition of the argument between missionary and Pundit all this is very valuable. But



the chief defect of this method is that it does not go deep enough. Hinduism and Christianity belong to two different planes of thought; they involve a different conception of the world and man and God, the one ethical, the other non-ethical. Hinduism has no definite doctrines, no unity of cultus or belief; "it is neither Saivism nor Vaishnavism nor Sāktism; but it is all these," and much more than these. Nor is it necessarily identified with the Vedānta philosophy, any more than the Anglican Church with Bishop Berkeley's theories, or the Lutheran Church with Fichte's. The Vedānta in its strictest interpretation is pure idealism, and a philosophy can never be a religion, although it may be a valuable aid to one. Hinduism consists rather in a certain common mode of thought. Gods and men and animals are not only endowed with life, but they are all equally manifestations of one Divine energy; the living principle in each is identical, and the same system which separates men by inexorable laws of caste regards the differences between gods and men and brutes as transient and accidental. Outside this perpetual play of life, the phantasmagoria of the visible creation, lies the unknown, the Infinite Fate, the impersonal Brahman. So far Hinduism does not essentially differ from the other great polytheist systems, such as those of Greece and Egypt. Its distinguishing features are asceticism, "Karma," transmigration, and fate; and these have been its profoundest tenets for 2,000 years. Moreover, the Vedānta philosophy, which enters so largely into the culture of the educated classes, has helped to give Hinduism a character of its own—a character as distinctive as that which the religions of the Western world acquired at the hands of the Platonists and Pythagoreans. Identifying the individual with the universal soul, and the latter with the universal life-giving energy, the impersonal Brahman, the Vedānta taught the beauty of the contemplative life, and the way of salvation by *gnosis*. On the one hand pessimism, on the other a kindly tolerance for all living things—these are the two aspects which distinguish Hindu religious philosophy from every other system.

The most interesting passages in Mr. Slater's book are those which treat of the influence Christianity is exercising on the higher religious thought of India, and we wish that he had treated of this subject more fully. That influence is by no means the same in the North and in the South of India, or on the classes acquainted with English and those who do not know it. Christianity has, of course, been known in India from very early times. It probably affected the later Buddhist legends, it may have had some influence on the transformation of Hinduism under the Guptas and their successors, but in any case its influence was very superficial and slight. The stern monotheism of the Moslems had a much greater effect—at any rate, in Northern India.

Christianity is bound up at present with the idea that it is the religion of a foreign race, and therefore it repels even more than it attracts. But in either case it is a powerful solvent. Under its influence Hinduism is unconsciously taking much the same course as the Neo-Platonists followed in the old Roman world. We have the same revival of a passion for antiquity, the same attempt to make religion the nucleus of a new-

born nationality, the allegorizing of the myths, the repudiation of immorality, the striving for a sensible intuition of the Divinity, the passion for devotion, the effort to impose a personal Deity upon a pantheistic background. And Hinduism and Neo-Platonism have the same fundamental weaknesses. The ethical conception of God, of man, and of the world must ultimately triumph; but Christianity will not triumph until it divests itself of its Occidental clothing. And that is a work which no Western can accomplish; we must look for it to the native Church of India. Meantime the remark of a Mohammedan stands true: "The more you educate a Hindu, the more of a Hindu he becomes." K.

THACKER, SPINK AND CO.; CALCUTTA.

II. *Major-General Claud Martin*, by S. C. HILL. Claud Martin was not an ordinary man, and his life was worth the writing. But he was certainly no hero, and although his zealous biographer, Mr. Hill, has shown that he possessed some amiable traits, and was not so black as his contemporaries averred, we are often wearied with far-fetched and occasionally fantastical whitewashings. The facts of Martin's life are few, and his character perfectly simple. The son of a French artisan—a cooper of Lyons—Martin received a fair elementary education, especially in mathematics, enlisted at the age of sixteen, and landed in Pondicherry in 1752. The rest of his life was spent in India. He served the French as a dragoon, and afterwards as a private in the Regiment of Lorraine, entered the East India Company's service at some date unknown, and obtained a commission in 1764 for the assistance he had given in quelling a mutiny of his company. He was made Captain in 1766, cashiered with a number of others in 1767 for reflecting on the conduct of an unpopular court-martial, reinstated in 1769, and finally invalided with the rank of Major in 1779. The titles of Colonel and Major-General afterwards bestowed on him were purely honorary. He died in 1800, and was buried in the magnificent building he had erected in Lucknow, now known as the Martinière. His tomb, designed by himself, is worthy of a great soldier. Four grenadiers, sculptured life-size, with their arms reversed, watch over it, and the inscription states that Claud Martin came to India a private, and rose to be a Major-General. But, in truth, Martin was not a soldier, and saw no fighting from the time he obtained a commission. He had a quick intelligence, a talent for drawing, and a turn for mechanics, perhaps inherited, and certainly developed by his early surroundings. From 1764, the year of his appointment as Lieutenant, he was employed in the famous survey of Bengal under Colonel Rennell, and this was the foundation of his fortune. Chance led him to Bihar and Oudh. He made the acquaintance of the Nawab Asaf ud Dowlah, and Asaf ud Dowlah, having taken a fancy to him, borrowed his services from the Company, and in 1776 put him in charge of the Lucknow arsenal. To Asaf ud Dowlah he became an invaluable servant. He managed the arsenal, made ornamental weapons and ingenious mechanical toys, and was engineer, architect, and military adviser all in one. The most lucrative part of Martin's employment, however, consisted in obtaining from Europe articles of every kind

for the Nawab—clocks, mirrors, candelabra, pictures, arms, and toys. Tradition credits him with the supply of Levantine beauties for the harem, and Martin, who was thoroughly orientalized, would probably have thought nothing wrong in this. The insensate extravagance and prodigality of Asaf ud Dowlah and the disorders of his harem were the common theme of the bazaar wits of Lucknow. So far, however, there is little to distinguish Martin from other European adventurers. The peculiarity of his position lay in the use the Nawab and the English made of him as a go-between. The Nawab trusted him because he was not an Englishman, listened to his counsels, and followed his advice. The English Resident employed him because he was a European and had the ear of the Nawab. He could smooth over difficulties, remove misunderstandings, and convey tentative suggestions; and so both parties found their interest in him. The English Government repaid his services and gratified his vanity by promoting him to be a Colonel and a Major-General; and the rewards of the Nawab were still more substantial.

Martin forms a singular contrast to De Boigne, whose money matters he looked after. The latter was every inch a soldier and administrator. Martin was no soldier, but a man of lively intelligence and artistic tastes hampered by an imperfect education. He was no mean architect, and the immense pile of the Martinière, bizarre in its details but grandiose and striking in its general effect, has commanded the admiration of no less a critic than Fergusson. But these artistic occupations were a mere amusement. The man was at heart a born Bunyah. His money-lending, his pawnbroking, his indigo-factories were the really serious matters to him. Mr. Hill devotes an interesting chapter to prove that he was not more exorbitant than his neighbours. Probably not, although that does not say much; but money-making was the thing in which he most excelled—the thing dearest to his heart. And, like a true French peasant, he was parsimonious—not miserly, but “close.” The only sin of which he accuses himself is avarice. And this leads us to that most curious production, Martin’s will. He wrote it himself, not in French, which he had probably forgotten for all literary purposes, but in broken English. It is a long, rambling document, written with evident sincerity, and with a confused, uneducated, but very characteristic simplicity. It contains, among other things, a lengthy and somewhat incoherent statement of his religious beliefs, a confession of his shortcomings, and a history of the girls who formed his harem. From his will and from the inscription which he wrote upon his tomb, one can form a complete picture of the man. And it is this psychological study which interests us. Martin had much in common with an ordinary Frenchman, especially the Frenchman whom one meets in India. But the peculiarity about him is that he had become thoroughly orientalized. Many of his contemporaries kept harems and adopted Oriental habits. Some, like the aristocratic Colonel Gardner, and that fighting, rollicking Irishman, Thomas, who had forgotten to write his mother-tongue, were quite as much in the current of native life. But none of them were so Oriental in their ways of thought. His theology is of especial interest, but, unfortunately, the passage is too long to quote.

Brought up in the Roman Catholic faith in childhood, sceptical of or indifferent to all religion while in the army, "when bodily feeling makes him weak" he "resumes," he says, "the prejudices" of his early training, "though avoiding all the priestly ceremony." "But as still many doubts crowded on my mind, I could never cease inquiring of the true path of religion, and worshipping the Omnipotent Creator or God, and I endeavoured to learn the religion of other nations and sects; and though I found mostly every others nations and sects as ridiculous in their ceremony as I thought the religion I was educated, still I found a similarity in the same principle that the substances of every religion of nations and sects I have been acquainted, of all professing sound moral, and the recommendation to do all the good possible to all other creature, to worship one only God, Creator of all, and to be charitable to all other creature, to do penance for sins—in short, every principle of religion equally as good as any of the several sect of the Christian religion," etc. We are reminded of Colonel Skinner, who built a church and mosque and temple, thus making sure to be in the right. Martin's harem, too, was organized in a much more elaborate manner than that of most of his contemporaries, and he had four wives, while they were usually satisfied with one. Two of these were half-caste children whom their fathers had abandoned, and it is not very evident how he could have better provided for them than by marrying them himself. With such thoughts and such surroundings Claud Martin wrote his will. And if he was not a great man himself, the result of his posthumous charity was most beneficent. The schools which he founded by his will were to provide an English education independent of all nationality or creed. At that time no English education could be obtained in Bengal outside the Roman Catholic schools and the Doveton College. The Lucknow and Calcutta Martinières have proved an inestimable boon for the classes for which they were intended. They evoke a feeling of gratitude to the founder; and to the light which burnt day and night before his tomb we may now add the labour of research and love which Mr. Hill has dedicated to his memory.

K.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, assembled for the Purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1901, vol. xxxix. Published by the authority of His Excellency the Governor (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1902). This volume gives a detailed report of proceedings of the Council during February, March, May, and August, 1901, along with an excellent index.

*The Economy of Human Life, complete in Two Parts*, translated from an Indian manuscript written by an ancient Bramin. To which is prefixed an account of the manner in which the manuscript was discovered, in a letter from an English gentleman then residing in China to the Earl of Chesterfield. New edition, prepared with a preface by DOUGLAS M. GANE (Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, 1902). Mr. Gane has done well in reproducing this interesting work, full of sublime thoughts

and practical precepts on almost every condition and relation of social life. Mr. Gane truly says: "This ancient treasury of thought may help to inspire and refresh those who, by personal culture and refinement, strive to combat in themselves that process of deterioration to which our conditions of life expose us."

*Occasional Hymns*, 1902, by AMHERST D. TYSEN, D.C.L., 5, Furnival Street, Holborn, London, E.C. A collection of pleasing hymns on general and special subjects on Christianity, and also on thoughts in the Koran and incidents in the life of Mohammed. The following, titled "The Signs of God," is based on the words of the Koran, "Now in the creation of heaven and earth and the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ship which saileth on the sea, laden with that which is profitable for mankind," etc. (Koran, c. ii.):

"Where'er we turn our reverent gaze,  
On fields, or seas, or skies,  
Signs of a wise Creator's hand  
Greet our inquiring eyes.

"Th' alternate change of day and night,  
For labour and for rest;  
The varied seasons of the year,  
With corn and olives blest;

"The bounteous clouds whose pitying tears  
Refresh the soil with rain;  
The winds that speed the laden bark  
Safe o'er the trackless main;

"The glorious sun whose genial beams  
From earth charm fruit and flow'rs;  
The gentle moon that spares to heat,  
But lights our darkest hours;

"The stars that guide the nightly course  
Of ship and caravan—  
All, all proclaim a gracious God .  
Who formed the world for man."

*The Home of the Puppet-Play*, by RICHARD FISCHER, translated (with the author's permission) by MILDRED C. TAWNEY (Mrs. R. N. Vyvyan) (Luzac and Co., Publishers to the India Office; London, 1902). This is an excellent translation of an address delivered by Dr. Richard Fischer on assuming the office of Rector of the Königliche Vereinigte Friedrichs-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, on July 12, 1900. The author's address exhibits great research, and is of much interest. His conclusion, after tracing puppet-plays and players in the East and West, is that "the art of the puppet-player was always that of a wandering people, and this the gipsies have ever been, as far back as we know anything of them. But the home of the gipsies is the home of fairy tales and the home of the puppet-play—the old 'wonderland' India."

*John Bull's Guinea-pigs, or the World and the War*, by a TRUE LIBERAL-IMPERIALIST (C. W. Bradley and Co., 12-15, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.). The object of this brochure is to call the attention of England to recent facts, from which he considers it is considerably behind the United States and Germany in enterprise and in the ability to employ methods that fit the times; and in a concise and lucid way he explains how England could not only recover her lost ground, but could win added power. His practical suggestions deserve attention.

*The Political Re-organization of the People*, by WILLIAM SANDERS (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., Paternoster Square, London, E.C., 1902). In view of the proposal to form a third political party among the working

classes, such as is already organized for trade-union and other purposes, Mr. Sanders endeavours to point out some of the difficulties and problems which require to be solved before this end can be attained. The author writes from an intimate and practical experience of the work of political organizations among the working classes. His views merit attentive consideration.

*A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel*, by J. R. WILKINSON, M.A., formerly Scholar at Worcester College, Oxford (Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, 1902). The author's theory is not new, his arguments are not convincing, and his conclusions are doubtful.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications of George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, July, August, September;—*The Sunday Strand*, July, August, September;—*The Strand Magazine*, July, August, September;—*The Citizen's Atlas*, parts 18-23;—*The Wide World Magazine*, July, August, September;—*The North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* (Shanghai);—*The London and China Telegraph* (79, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.); *The Homeward Mail* (65, Cornhill, London, E.C.);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay, and Luzac and Co., London); *The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.); *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.); *Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Usèbe Vassal (Tunis, au Secrétariat Général de l'Institut); *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder); *Sphinx*, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate); *Die Kultur*, Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Litteratur und Kunst (Vienna and Stuttgart: Jos. Roth);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review* (11, Warren Street, New York, U.S.A.);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Cornhill Maga-*

zine;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*The Magazine-i-Hind* (Meerut);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902);—*United India* (a newspaper published and printed by G. Subramania Iyer, at the Swadesamitran Press, Madras);—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient: Revue Philologique* (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, imprimeur - éditeur, 1902);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales: Revue de Politique Extérieure*, fortnightly (Paris: 19, Rue Bonaparte);—*Russia*, Illustrated Journal: Policy, Industry, Commerce, Literature, Art, etc. (56, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.);—*China*, a Quarterly Record: Religious, Philanthropic, Political (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 21, Paternoster Square, E.C., and St. Mary Street, Edinburgh).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone the notice of the following works: *Genuinæ relationes inter sedem apostolicam et Syriorum orientalium seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam nunc majori ex parte primum editæ historicisque adnotationibus illustratæ*. Cura et studio R.mi Abbatis Samuelis Giamil, ecclesiæ Babylonensis archidiaconi et patriarchæ Chaldaeorum apud Sanctam Sedem procuratoris generalis (Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Co., MCMII.);—*Studia Sinaitica No. XI: Apocrypha Syriaca. The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae, with texts from the Septuagint, the Corân, the Peshitta, and from a Syriac hymn in a Syro-Arabiac palimpsest of the fifth and other centuries*, edited and translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., with an appendix on Palestinian Syriac texts from the Taylor-Shechter collection (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane, 1902);—*Chaldean Astrology up to Date: How to cast the Horoscope and read the Future in the Stars* by George Wilde, with preface, valuable notes, and comments by A. G. Trent (London: E. Marsh-Stiles, 12, St. Stephen's Mansions, Westminster, and the Occult Book Co., Halifax, Yorkshire, 1901);—*Mahâbhârata-Studien. Abhandlungen zur indischen literatur und Culturkunde II. Die Sâmkhya-philosophie als naturlehre und erlösungslehre*. Nach dem Mahâbhârata von Joseph Dahlmann, s.J. (Berlin, verlag von Felix L. Dames, 1902);—*East of the Barrier, or Sidelights on the Manchuria Mission*, by the Rev. J. Miller Graham, Missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, Moukden, Manchuria (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1902);—*Progressive Exercises in the Chinese Written Language*, by T. L. Bullock, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1902);—Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, vol. ix. (1) *The History of Rabban Hôrmiẓd the Persian*. (2) *The History of Rabban Bar-Idtâ*. The Syriac texts edited with English translations by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum (London: Luzac and Co., 1902);—*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum*, by Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Parts VII. and VII. (the University of Chicago Press; Luzac and Co., London, 1902).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—The news of the King-Emperor's illness and consequent postponement of the Coronation was received in India with much sorrow and disappointment, and intercessional services were held all over the country for his recovery.

The following chiefs arrived in England to be present at the King-Emperor's Coronation: Colonel His Highness Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Madho Rao Sindhia, G.C.S.I., A.D.C., Maharaja of Gwalior; His Highness Maharaja Dhiraj Sawai Sir Madho Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Jaipur (Rajputana); His Highness Sir Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Kolhapur; Major His Highness Sir Ganga Singh, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Bikanir; Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., A.D.C., LL.D., Maharaja of Idar; also Maharaj Kunwar Dolat Singh, heir-apparent to H.H. the Maharaja of Idar; Lieutenant-Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup, *Bahadur*, G.C.I.E., C.B., A.D.C., Maharaja of Cooch Behar, and Her Highness the Maharani of Cooch Behar; His Highness Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, Aga Khan, K.C.I.E.; also the following representatives of Presidency towns—Calcutta: Maharaj Kumar Prodyot Kumar Tagore. Bombay: Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhai, Bart., J.P., and Lady Jamsetji Jeejeebhai. Madras: Raja Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Kt., C.I.E. Provincial representatives—Madras: Maharaja Sri Rao the Hon. Sir Venkatasvetachalapati Ranga Rao *Bahadur* K.C.I.E., Raja of Bobbili. Bombay: Meherban Ganpatrao Madhavrav Vinchurkar. Bengal: The Hon. Asif Qadr Sayyid Vāsif 'Ali Mirza, of Murshidabad. North-Western Provinces: The Hon. Nawāb Mumtaz-ud-daula Muhammad Fayāz 'Ali Khan, of Pahasu, Bulandshahr District. Panjāb: Nawāb Fath 'Ali Khan, Kizil-bāsh. Central Provinces: Gangadhar Madho Chitnavis, C.I.E., President, Nagpur Municipality. Assam: Rai Jagannath Barua *Bahadur*. Burma: Maung On Gaing, C.I.E., A.T.M. Oude: Raja Pertab Singh, Pertabgarh, Oude. Frontier Province: Lieutenant-Colonel Nawāb Muhammad Aslām Khan, C.I.E., *Khan Bahadur* of Peshawar. Viceroy's nomination: Kunwar Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E., of Karpurthala, and Lady Harnam Singh; Sir Baba Khem Singh, Bedi of Kullar, K.C.I.E.

On the auspicious occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor on August 9, special services were held in all churches in India, whilst prayers were also offered in the mosques and temples for the long life and happiness of His Majesty. Salutes were fired, State dinners and garden parties held, the poor were fed and alms distributed, and there were illuminations and fireworks in many places.

The following is the text of the message received by His Excellency the Viceroy from His Majesty:

"TO MY PEOPLE,—On the eve of my Coronation, an event which I look upon as one of the most solemn and important in my life, I am anxious to express to my people at home, and in the Colonies, and in



India my heartfelt appreciation of the deep sympathy which they have manifested towards me during the time that my life was in such imminent danger.

"The postponement of the ceremony owing to my illness caused, I fear, much inconvenience and trouble to all those who intended to celebrate it ; but their disappointment was borne by them with admirable patience and temper.

"The prayers of my people for my recovery were heard ; and I now offer up my deepest gratitude to Divine Providence for having preserved my life and given me strength to fulfil the important duties which devolve upon me as the Sovereign of this great Empire."

His Excellency the Viceroy made a tour in August, which occupied about three weeks, during which he visited Bangalore, Madur, and Maisur, where he installed the young Maharaja.

The rectification of the India and Tibet frontier has been completed. Three hundred and fifty square miles have been added to British territory.

Except in North-East India, deltaic Bengal, Himalayan and Submontane districts, where heavy rain has fallen, rainfall is deficient over the greater part of India.

The number of persons in receipt of relief on September 5 was : Bombay, 305,000 ; Bombay Native States, 56,000 ; Baroda, 37,000 ; Rajputana, 17,000 ; Panjāb, 1,000 ; Ajmir-Merwara, 30,000 ; Central India, 3,000 ; Central Provinces, 1,000. Total, 450,000.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Several Waziri dacoits have been killed and captured west of Bannu. The troops have also made reprisals on the Mahmud Khels, who had attacked the post of Islam Chauki. The regular troops have now all been withdrawn from the Kurram Valley.

Tribal fighting has occurred in Bajour. The Nawab of Dir and the Khan of Nawagai had joined forces in order to coerce the Mahmands.

A police post at Gurgani in the Kohat district was attacked in August by a party of Waziris. Two policemen were killed and one wounded, and the place looted.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The following native chiefs and others in the Panjāb sent addresses and expressed their loyalty to the King-Emperor on his Coronation : The Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Rajas of Nabha, Jind, Faridkhot, Mandi, Chamba, Keonthal, Nalagarh, Baghal, Bashahr, and Bilaspur ; the Ranas of Malag, Koti, Kuthar, Bhajji, Bhagal, Kumharsain, and Dhami ; the Thakurs of Taroch and Mailog ; Sikh Sardars of the Umballa District, etc.

The Governor-General in Council has recognised Jadvendra Singh, the eldest son of the late Rao Raja, as chief of Panna State, in succession to Madho Singh, who was deposed in April last. The new Raja is first cousin of Madho Singh, and is in his ninth year. During his minority the administration will be conducted by the Diwan under the general supervision of the Political Agent.

Hajji Abdul Jabbār Khan, *Bahadur*, C.I.E., the Prime Minister of Bhopal, has retired on a pension granted by Her Highness.

The Maharaja of Rutlam has married a daughter of the Rao of Cutch.

On August 8, His Excellency the Viceroy installed on the *masnad* of MAISUR the Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodayar, *Bahadur*.

Serious landslips have occurred in the valley by Khatmandu (Nepal), owing to the rivers of Baghmati and Vishnumati having overflowed their banks. Several hundred lives have been lost. The cities of Bhatgaon and Paten suffered greatly.

Before quitting London, Colonel His Highness Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Madho Rao Sindhia of Gwalior sent a cheque for £1,000 to Sir Lepel Griffin, chairman of the East India Association, for the use of that society.

His Highness Maharaja Dhiraj Sawai Sir Madho Singh of Jaipur has contributed £5,000 to the King's Hospital Fund.

BURMA.—Mr. Hughes Shakespear Barnes, C.S.I., has been appointed by the King to be Lieutenant-Governor in place of Sir F. W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I., whose term of office expires early next year.

PERSIA.—H.I.M. the Shah of Persia, who has been making a tour this summer in Europe, paid a few days' visit to England during August, and was received by His Majesty the King at Portsmouth.

His Royal Highness the Muazz-ed-dowleh, who had been specially deputed by the Shah to attend the Coronation was, owing to its postponement, received by the Queen. His Royal Highness' suite was composed of Hossein Quli Khan, *Nawāb* (Councillor), Mīrza Hussein Khan (First Secretary), Isā Khan, *Sartip* (Military Attaché), and Nusrat-es-Sultān (Second Secretary). General Sir Thomas Gordon and Abbas Quli Khan, of the British Embassy at Teheran, were also present.

PERSIAN GULF.—It is reported that the Russian Consul at Bandar Bushire has made large purchases of land on the island of Bahrein.

Great seismic disturbances, which lasted from July 9 to July 20, occurred at Bandar Abbas. The inhabitants abandoned their dwellings, and encamped out in the open. No loss of life is reported.

AFGHANISTAN.—All is quiet in the country. The relations between His Highness the Amir and the Indian Government are excellent. Habibullah Khan has shown himself friendly and obliging, and has expelled the Waziri outlaws from Birmāl. It is reported that the Amir recently ordered the enforcement of the scheme devised by his father, under which compulsory military service is imposed upon one-eighth of the male population.

BALUCHISTAN.—The Pishin section of the State Railway from Rukh to Chaman has been completed. The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the construction of the Quetta-Nushki Railway. This line will be eighty-two miles in length, and will cost 70 lacs of rupees. A provision of 47 lacs has already been made in the Budget of the current year.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Sultan has refused to agree to the concessions asked by the Zionists who desired to found a settlement of Jews in Palestine.

It is stated that Ibn Rashid, the Amir of Nejd, has reoccupied the town of Al Riad, driving out the Wahābis. Mubārek, the Sheikh of Koweit, is a supporter of the Wahābis.

The amount lent to the fund in aid of the Hejāz Railway amounts to over £4,600,000.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—Owing to drought, little harvest was expected this year in several parts of Transcaspia. The inhabitants assert that the Afghans have dammed the sources of the rivers flowing into their country, and also as regards the water of the Murghāb, which is very low.

Cholera broke out in Manchuria, and has claimed many victims, more especially at Blagovestchensk, Port Arthur, and Dalny. A complete stagnation of business, and a disastrous falling off in industrial activity, exists in the Amur Province.

CHINA.—An edict has been issued providing for the completion of the Canton-Hankau Railway, and authorizing the issue of \$40,000,000 in gold bonds. The line will consist of 700 miles of trunk lines, and 200 miles of branch lines.

The Imperial sanction has been granted to the scheme proposed by Sir J. L. Mackay for the abolition of *likin* stations in return for increased import and export duties.

August 15 saw the transfer of the city of Tien-tsin to the Chinese. His Excellency, Yuan Shih-Kai, the Viceroy of Chi-li, and suite, was present.

The leader of the rebels in Southern Chi-li, Ching-ting-ping, has been executed by General Li, and the Viceroy of Sze-chuan removed and replaced by Tsen Chun-hsuan.

An Anglo-Chinese Treaty has been negotiated by Sir J. L. Mackay, and signed in Peking on September 5. The provisions of the new treaty are as follows: Protection of trade-marks; bonded warehouse facilities; Canton River and Upper Yangtze obstructions to navigation to be removed; equal status of junk and steamer cargoes; I.M.C. drawbacks; currency for China; Chinese shareholders in foreign companies; abolition of *likin*, substitution of surtax; mining; inland navigation; new treaty ports; judicial reform; missionaries; rice and grain trade.

Chang Chih-tung has been appointed Director of Commerce.

JAPAN.—The foreign trade for the half-year amounted to 24½ millions sterling against 25 millions last year. Exports decreased by £400,000, due entirely to silk, cotton, and yarns. On the other hand, there is an increase of imports of £200,000.

The result of the general election, held in August, was as follows: The *Seiyun-Kai*, 192 seats; the Progressists, 104; the Imperialists, 20; and the Independents, 59.

The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs has entered a vigorous protest with the Dominion Government against the further restrictive legislation enacted by the British Columbian Legislature last session.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—A disaster has befallen a punitive expedition which had been sent by the Raja of Sarawak—Sir Charles Brooke—into the interior against the head-hunting tribe of a Dyak chief. The force, which was commanded by three Englishmen, was suddenly attacked by cholera, to which over 1,000, or one-twelfth of the expedition succumbed in three days. The intended scene of operations was the upper waters of the Rajang and Batang Lupar Rivers.

At Singapore, Johore, Penang, and other places, the Coronation celebrations went off successfully.

The revenue for last year amounted to just over \$7,000,000. The imports of Singapore were over \$231,500,000, Penang nearly \$58,500,000, and Malacca over \$2,500,000, giving a total of nearly \$293,000,000, or £29,500,000 sterling. The total exports were \$256,750,000, or £25,000,000 sterling.

EGYPT.—In July last cholera broke out in Cairo and Moucha. All Egyptian troops in Cairo were removed to the camp at Abbasieh. In August it broke out also at Alexandria. From July 15 to August 24 there were 4,278 cases, principally in Cairo, Minieh, Beirut, Embabeh and Tukh, of which 3,246 ended fatally, and 322 were cured.

The last coping-stone of the Assuan dam was laid on the 30th of July last.

ABYSSINIA.—It is asserted that some gold-mining concessions in the Baro country have been obtained by an English syndicate for £2,000,000.

UGANDA, EAST AFRICA, AND SOMALILAND.—The Mad Mulla, who had been located in the Haud district, which is waterless, has been followed up beyond Damot by the Nogal Valley. A mounted column under Colonel Cobbe, after a chase of eighty miles, killed 150 of the enemy, and captured 4,000 camels and 12,000 sheep. Another column, under Major Phillips, captured 450 camels and 5,000 sheep. The main column, under Colonel Swayne, is moving north to cut off the tribes from him.

Grants in aid have been made by the Home Government to the following: Somaliland, £60,000; British Central Africa, £50,000; East Africa Protectorate, £93,000; and Uganda, £172,000. The amount advanced for the Uganda Railway during the financial year ended March 31, was £870,000.

Sultan Hamud bin Muhammad, G.C.S.I., of ZANZIBAR, who died in July last, has been succeeded by his son Sayyid 'Ali, now in his seventeenth year. Mr. Rogers, the Prime Minister, will act as Regent until His Highness attains his twenty-first year.

RHODESIA.—Stringent immigration restrictions are being enforced at Beira. Many Greeks and Austrians described as miners and masons have been detained there, as the Salisbury Chamber of Mines, in reply to an inquiry by the British Consul, could not recommend that they should be sent to Rhodesia.

The launch of the first steamer on the Upper Zambesi, above the Victoria Falls, has taken place: It was christened the *Livingstone*.

The first *train de luxe* from Bulawayo arrived at Cape Town on August 13, after seventy-four hours' journey.

TRANSVAAL.—The following are the different commands in South Africa: The Transvaal and Bechuanaland have been divided into five districts, and Orange River Colony into two. Cape Colony and Natal form separate commands.

The British military stores at Lorenzo Marques, valued at half a million sterling, were destroyed by fire in July last.

Lord Methuen returned from South Africa on July 9, and Lord Kitchener on July 12, accompanied by Generals French and Hamilton.

Before leaving for Europe Generals Botha, De Wet, and Delarey, in an

address, counselled the Boer families in the new Colonies not to be discouraged, to be tolerant, and to remain in the land. Much bitterness exists between the Boers who joined the National Scouts and the other burghers. The prisoners in St. Helena, Bermuda, Ceylon, India, and other places are being repatriated as fast as transport can be provided.

The Government is selecting from among the Boers some prominent agriculturists, and is sending them on a visit to several British Colonies, in order that they may make a study of modern scientific methods of agriculture, and so put them into practice themselves, and instruct their neighbours to do the same. The places to be visited are Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Education Department in the new Colonies is making great progress ; 689 schools have been established in the Transvaal.

An extensive irrigation scheme on the Vaal River has been decided on.

The first meeting of the Transvaal Political Association was held in August at Germiston. Its main objects are to support Lord Milner, to educate the people for political responsibilities, and to safeguard the interests of all by a representative organization, able to speak in the name of the whole people.

Great progress has been made in the organization of the supreme Court, and other Courts of the Colony, and in the drawing up of the penal code.

The Customs return for the Colony for the six months ending June last were: Imports, £4,217,698, as compared with £1,143,192 for the corresponding period of last year. Customs dues amounted to £527,065, against £168,446 in 1901. The imports *via* Natal amounted to £1,825,420, *via* the Cape to £2,017,989, and *via* Delagoa Bay £374,289. The value of the exports amounted to £2,852,052, the gold exports alone amounting to £2,790,000.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—In order to prepare for many necessary improvements eight millions sterling is being borrowed, and will be distributed as follows: £2,200,000 for railway extension; £1,800,000 for the payment of the railway debt to Cape Colony; £1,000,000 for compensation to people of Cape Colony for damage caused during the invasion; £1,500,000 for the repatriation of Boer families; and £1,500,000 for land settlement.

NATAL.—The repatriation of the Boers in the new territories of Vryheid, Utrecht, and Wakkerstroom is progressing. A Border Police Force of 500 men has been established for the policing of the new district. Zululand is being rapidly opened up and surveyed, with a view to railway development.

CAPE COLONY.—The Cape Parliament was opened by the Governor, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, on August 20. On September 4 Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, the Premier, introduced four new bills, the first for a loan of £2,795,000 for improving the harbours of Table Bay, Port Elizabeth, East London and Mossel Bay; the second for the construction of irrigation works; the third for the construction, equipment, and maintenance of certain railways; and the fourth for a loan of £1,616,277 for additional railway works. According to the Budget speech, during the past ten years

the railways had yielded a surplus of over £10,000,000. The goods entered in the Customs in 1900 amounted in value to £19,000,000, and in 1901 to £23,250,000. The existing debt of the Colony was £38,000,000. The total debit balance on July 1 last for the two previous years amounted to £2,194,000, the total expenditure being £19,224,000, and the total revenue £17,030,000. The revenue for the ensuing year is estimated at £10,350,000.

WEST AFRICA.—The revenue of GAMBIA for last year was £43,726, and the expenditure was £48,518. The Colony has no public debt, and £58,115 stood to its credit at the end of the year. The imports amounted to £252,646, and the exports to £233,667.

CANADA.—The Customs revenue for the past fiscal year amounted to \$32,500,000, an increase of \$3,500,000 over the preceding year.

The trade for the past year has been a record one. The imports were valued at \$202,791,595, an increase of \$21,000,000, and the exports at \$211,725,563, an increase of \$15,000,000.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company have offered to establish and work a weekly fast passenger service between Quebec and Liverpool in the winter, together with a freight service of steamers.

General Lord Dundonald has assumed command of the Canadian Militia.

Lords Strathcona and Mount Stephen have together made a magnificent endowment to King Edward's Hospital Fund for London, producing at present £16,000 per annum, and likely to increase in value.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the year ending June 30 last is the largest on record—viz., nearly \$2,200,000—exceeding that of the previous year by over \$100,000.

Attorney-General Horwood has been appointed Chief Justice, and Mr. Johnson Assistant Judge.

The Labrador fishery has been above the average.

WEST INDIES.—A surplus of \$115,000 is announced for the fiscal year ended last June.

The Imperial Government has placed the sum of £10,000 at the disposal of the Colonial Government to enable it to make advances to the sugar estates, in order to ensure the continuance of cultivation and the payment of an adequate rate of wages to the labourers pending the coming into operation of the Brussels Convention in September, 1902. The Jamaica Chamber of Commerce has condemned the Imperial Government's neglect of the West Indies, and has resolved to take no notice of the above grant in aid of the sugar industry.

Another eruption of Mont Pelée occurred on August 30, when 1,500 persons were killed and many injured.

AUSTRALASIA.—The Commonwealth revenue for last year amounted to £11,304,800.

Before leaving Brisbane for England last July Lord Hopetoun, in a letter to Mr. Deakin, bid farewell to the people of Australia, and expressed his high appreciation of the support, consideration, and warm friendship extended to him.

The Coronation festivities were enthusiastically carried out on August 9.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Good rain fell in the Colony during August.

The value of the mineral products last year was £6,006,635, being a decrease of £564,183 on the total of the preceding year. The revenue of the railways for the year ended June 30 last, amounted to £3,668,686, and the expenditure to £2,267,369. The balance, after paying working expenses, is £1,401,317. The revenue for the past financial year amounted to £11,178,181, an increase of £383,948 over the previous year.

VICTORIA.—The revenue of the past year, exclusive of £1,920,974, which was returned by the Commonwealth Government, amounted to £5,074,779, being an increase of £146,259 over the preceding year.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—A new Ministry has been formed as follows: Mr. James, Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Kingsmill, Commissioner of Railways; Mr. Gregory, Minister of Mines; Mr. Jameson, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. Rason, Director of Public Works; Mr. Gardener, Colonial Secretary and Treasurer.

The revenue for the financial year ended last June amounted to £3,688,048, as compared with £3,078,033 for the previous year. The Commonwealth contributed £1,559,001, and the State £2,129,048.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the past year amounted to £2,428,000, and the expenditure to £2,650,000. The total deficit amounted to £239,000, which is proposed to be met by the issue of seven-year Treasury bills, with an annual contribution to a sinking fund. The estimated revenue for the current year amounts to £2,463,000, and the expenditure to £2,461,800.

TASMANIA.—Parliament was opened on July 23. Among the new measures proposed were a Constitutional Reform Bill, a Local Government Bill, and a Bill for the revision of the liquor laws.

NEW ZEALAND.—The Budget shows that the gross public debt amounts to £52,000,000. The estimates for the current year are, expenditure £5,987,063, and revenue £6,083,500. It is proposed to raise a new loan of £1,750,000, to be devoted to the construction of railways, roads, bridges and telegraphs, and developing the goldfields. The Colony altogether is in a very prosperous condition. The exports for last year to South Africa amounted to £753,000, excluding the value of the horses of the contingent.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—General Alfred Fox Place, formerly of the Madras Army (Kurnool field force 1839, and Mutiny);—Colonel Sir F. J. Keen, K.C.B. (Mutiny);—Colonel E. H. Bingham, I.C.S. (Afghan war 1878-80, Chitral relief force 1895, North-west Frontier 1896);—Lieutenant-Colonel D. W. Deane Comins, M.D., I.M.S.;—Major R. Blakeney, late of the 48th Foot (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Major-General Sir Francis Scott, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Ashanti war);—Major-General John Bates, late of the Indian Army (Sind campaign 1843, Rewa Kanta operations 1858);—Colonel G. B. Farrington, late Madras Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel John James Meade, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles;—Sir James Bellett Richey, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., late member of Council, Bombay;—

Major E. H. S. Boxer, Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Political Agent at Bandar Abbas ;—Colonel C. H. Barchard, c.b., late Bengal Staff Corps (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Boori Pass 1855, Mutiny) ;—Mr. W. Copeland Capper, Bengal Civil Service (retired) ;—Captain Percy Beale, formerly of the 10th Regiment (Indian campaign 1857-58) ;—Captain R. I. Chamberlain, 11th Bengal Lancers (Chitral campaign, Tirah campaign) ;—The Nawab Asaf Nawāz-ul-mulk, for thirty years secretary in the Nizam's employ ;—Surgeon-General Grahame Auchinleck (Burmese war 1850-53, Eusufzai expedition 1858, Mutiny campaign) ;—Mr. Henry Dunning Macleod, an authority on banking and kindred subjects, and a valued contributor to this *Review* ;—Rev. H. C. Parker, an Indian chaplain (Upper Burma expeditionary force) ;—Admiral Mark Robert Pechell (Baltic 1854-55) ;—General Sir Mark Walker, k.c.b., v.c. (Crimea, China 1860, etc.) ;—The Sultan of Zanzibar, Hamud bin Muhammad bin Said, c.c.s.i. ;—Mr. Robert James Forrest, late British Consul at Amoy, China ;—Field-Marshal Marquis Saigo, a distinguished Japanese statesman ;—Major Thomas Dundas, late of the Suffolk regiment (Kaffir war 1852-53) ;—Mr. Andrew Yule, formerly of Calcutta and founder of the house of Yule and Co. ;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Grindlay, late of the 21st Lancers (Panjab campaign 1845-46, Mutiny) ;—Mr. James Nevile McQueen, formerly of the Bengal police ;—Mr. Algernon Leventhorpe, Under-secretary p.w.d., Burma ;—Mr. G. F. Adams, p.w.d. ;—Sirdar Khan Bahadur Dorabji Puddumji, head of the Parsi community in Poona ;—Colonel Forestier-Walker, Assistant Adjutant-General to the Force in Egypt (Bechuanaland 1884-85, Burmese expedition 1881-82, Chitral relief force) ;—Major-General Joseph Reay, Bengal Staff Corps (Sonthal campaign 1855) ;—Lord William Cansfield Gerard (Natal 1899-1900) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Harvey, formerly of the Royal Artillery (China, Taku forts) ;—H.H. the Maharani of Vizianagram ;—Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Newdigate-Newdegate, formerly of the Rifle Brigade (Crimea, Zulu campaign 1879) ;—Mr. Frank Robert Stanley Collier, i.c.s. ;—Mr. Alan Mackinnon, chairman of the Indian Mining Association ;—Swami Vivekananda, a religious teacher ;—Rev. James Francis Browne, formerly Archdeacon of Madras ;—Colonel Howell Gunters, for many years a Garrison Instructor in India ;—Mr. Alexander Michie, a well-known authority on China and the Far East, and an esteemed contributor to this *Review* ;—Major-General Kennett Gregg Henderson, c.b. (Mutiny campaign, China 1860, Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—General Lucas Meyer, a prominent Boer politician ;—The Hon. Howard Spensley, formerly Solicitor-General in Victoria ;—Mr. Robert J. Cornwallis Lord, i.c.s., at Haidarabad, Sind ;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. Shepperd Harvey, formerly of the Royal Artillery (China expeditionary force 1860) ;—Nawab Sir Khurshid Jah, *Bahadur*, k.c.i.e., *Shams-ul-Umra*, *Amir-i-Kabir*, a premier noble of Haidarabad Deccan ;—Lieutenant-Colonel B. F. Holme, commanding East Kent Regiment in Burma (Egypt, Malay Peninsula, Nile campaign 1884-85, Chitral relief force 1895, North-West Frontier 1897-98, last Boer war) ;—Mr. Brunton Stephens, a Queensland poet ;—Major-General Charles F. G. Lamb, of the Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Hunter (Hunter Bey), in the Bahr-el-Ghazel (Egyptian war 1882, Hazara expedition 1891, Sudan campaign 1898) ;—Captain John Grant Malcolmson, v.c., m.v.o., His Majesty's Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, formerly of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry (Persian expeditionary force 1856-57, Central India field force) ;—Captain H. R. D'Anyers Willis (Mutiny) ;—Mr. Birnie Browne, p.w.d., India (Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. V. Thurburn, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Gwalior, Sutlej, Crimea) ;—Mr. George F. Vernon, of the West Africa Police ;—Colonel Gregory Colquhoun Grant, formerly of the Indian Staff Corps



and late Judge at Karachi (Okamundel field force 1859);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Taylor, late of the Royal Artillery (Egypt 1882, Burma 1886-87);—Major-General Henry Schaw, C.B., R.E., Deputy Inspector-General of Fortifications, New Zealand;—Major-General Sir J. M. Heriot-Maitland, R.E. (China war 1857-59, Canada Fenian raid, Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884);—Sir Robert Henry Davies, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (I.C.S.);—Major-General Alexander Jenkins, late of the 2nd Madras Native Infantry (Burmese war 1852-53);—Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Temple Wright, Indian Medical Service (retired);—The Hon. Joseph Royal, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories;—Major-General Francis John Hercy (Crimea); Mr. G. W. Chamberlain, Indian Civil Service (retired);—Mr. K. Kalyanasundaran Aiyar, a prominent citizen of Tanjore and sometime member of the Madras Legislative Council;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Knight, a distinguished soldier of the Indian Army, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Punjab 1848-49, Mutiny campaign 1858-59, Abyssinia 1867-68);—Major F. Piomley, late of the Royal Horse Artillery and Army Veterinary Department (Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel C. Oldfield Nicholetts, Commandant 5th Bombay Infantry (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1885-87);—Colonel W. Lambert, Cantonment Magistrate (Afghan campaign 1879-80, Hazara expedition 1888);—Major-General J. A. Steel, Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign);—Major James Richard Benson Andrews, of the Honourable East India Company's service;—Captain H. E. Neave, 1st Battalion Royal Warwickshire Regiment, shot at Belgaum, Madras;—Admiral John Eglinton Montgomerie, C.B. (China 1854);—Captain J. W. H. Harvey, R.N. (Cape Coast Castle 1854, China 1858-1860);—Major-General William Elliot-Morton, formerly of the R.E., Bengal (Punjab campaign 1848-49);—Lieut.-Colonel J. F. Girardot, formerly of the 43rd Foot (Kaffir war 1852-53);—the Honourable Arthur Child, Chief Justice of St. Lucia;—Mr. George Palmer, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—Shah Ahmadullah, retired Judge of the United Provinces;—Dr. Stratton, Registrar Punjab University;—Mr. Alexander Sutherland, Registrar of the University of Melbourne;—Dr. T. A. J. Van Asch Van Wyk, Dutch Minister for the Colonies;—the Abbé Delapart, an eminent archaeologist of Algeria;—Lady Macartney, wife of Sir Halliday Macartney, Councillor and English Secretary to the Chinese Legation in London.

#### ERRATA.

In Mr. Forrest's article on "The Famine Commission," in our July issue, for "Cantley" read "Cautley," and on p. 10, last line but two, read "—o'zo" instead of "o'zo."





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